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ABSTRACT

The African-American curriculum guide for secondary students endeavors to bridge the gap of misunderstanding between blacks and whites and, further, to enhance the esteem of black people. The prefacing unit on prejudice provides a unique feature compared to most guides in that it encourages students toward self examination of their personalities in regard to racial biases and also helps them to understand ramifications of a nations' prejudice, giving relevance to the course and motivation to students. Ten units of study on Afro-Americans, given in the second part, are designed to be incorporated into existing United States history and curriculum, emphasizing the many contributions blacks have made to the civilization of America. Topics are included on America's African heritage, slavery, the paradox of the American Revolution, racial conflicts which lead to the Civil War, Reconstruction era, the birth of Jim Crow, the age of despair, and World War II and the establishment of new civil rights principles. The last major part, a bibliography of readings intended for teacher preparation and motivated advanced students, is arranged into four sections: broad phases of black history, works applicable to the ten units, a bibliography of bibliographies, and a bibliography of records.
(SJM)

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GROSSMONT UNION HIGH SCHOOL DISTRICT

COURSES OF STUDY

Prejudice
Afro-American Studies

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A Philosophical Justification for Inclusion of a Prejudice Unit to Preface A Study of the History of a Minority

A Philosophical Justification for Inclusion of a Unit of Prejudice to Preface Afro-American History Study (or any minority study)

Can there be doubt that a major objective of any Afro-American History course is to help bridge the gap of misunderstanding between Blacks and whites? As teachers, I'm sure we hope that an emphasis in our classes of the significance of Blacks as people and as Americans, socially and historically, will somewhat redeem the previous failings of whites which has largely contributed to the plight of Blacks today.

I contend that much of an Afro-American course will be misunderstood or even rejected by Anglo students unless foundations are established to insure relevancy. There can be little awareness of the Blacks' struggles for respect, unless students first understand prejudice and its ramifications. Consequently, I propose that each teacher of Afro-American History preface such studies by first discussing prejudice.

I believe such a unit lends to current social relevancies and, thus, would be inherently self-motivating. I think too, it would stimulate interest in Black history by answering the usual, expected questions such as "Can't Negroes just get some ambition and work hard?" "Why don't they take advantage of their education?" "Who says I'm part of the problem; What did I ever do?" "I don't dislike Negroes; I'm not prejudiced. Why should I be responsible for what other people did?"

In talking with teachers from other areas, mostly those who have taught or who are teaching Black studies, their chief complaint is that their efforts meet with student rejection or complacency. Complacency because they probably fail to recognize the relevance, and rejection because they're afraid the recognition may necessitate a change from their rooted attitudes and this effort can be quite painful.

A prefacing unit on prejudice is designed to counteract such problems. It would be expected that a student would have to physically remove himself from the class in order not to become involved. Also, there are built in safety options that the teacher can use to help encourage the student to continue his involvement particularly at those critical and painful periods when staying involved would require personal action.

Prejudice is firmly rooted in history. Its corrosive sludge has mired Blacks from achieving their deserved dignity and pride. Yet, somehow superhumanly, Blacks have contributed enormously to humanity, particularly to the civilization of America. Hopefully efforts via Afro-American History will further enhance the esteem of Black people around the world.

T. R. Gill

PREJUDICE

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Note: To Teacher:

The table of contents for Afro-American History and the course material follow the Prejudice Unit.

Preface to Teacher

This curriculum is not a final authority. The limitations of time, talent, knowledge and resources demand that what appears be considered primarily as suggestions and as encouragement for adaption to the uniqueness of your situation and abilities.

Originally the Prejudice unit was intended as a "mini," simply to help students cope with the usual strong resistence to the dynamics of change. My assumption was that in the study of Afro-American History certain occasions would lend to introspection, which, in turn, would cause many to resist further involvement. Such is the nature of humans. (Sections IV, V and VI of the Prejudice Unit give much consideration to this point.) If, however, the student was already apprised of the usual normal human tendency to resist change, particularly attitudinal, he might then be able to cope through the struggle to new perceptions and perspectives.

As I researched, however, I realized the real advantage to verify and validate certain premises. Of course, this has led to a much more inclusive Prejudice Unit than originally intended. Nevertheless, I wish to emphasize that what appears could be greatly enriched by further research. This is not to belittle any of the subject matter because it has the high regard of many who are considered experts in such fields as history, psychology, psychiatry, sociology, anthropology, etc.

At the outset I strongly suggest that you first determine the time available for this unit in relation to your semester goals. I do not feel that for your study to be successful all areas must be covered. Choose what is most appropriate and essential to your situation. Also consider that some of the material herein could be considered controversial by the community, particularly - Prejudice in America Today. (VII)

The committee would be most appreciative of your reporting adaptions and additions successful to your study. Feel free to call on us if additional information or service would be beneficial.

Tom Gill

Preface to the Student

Congratulations! As a pioneer you are commended. A joke? No, I'm quite serious because not only are you taking a class being offered for the first time, but more significant, you are doing what most students wouldn't. Something in their personality lacks a certain quality, call it courage or fortitude, to take such a class because consciously or unconsciously, they shy from anything that might "rattle" them and force changing some set ways of behaving and thinking.

Whatever your reasons for deciding to study Afro-American History, I hope one of the realizations you've come to is that there must be more to understanding Black people than what you now know. This is no disgrace. As a matter of fact it's a good indication, it shows a readiness for adapting which is essential if you intend to complete this course.

Other schools tell us that the drop out rate is high in Black studies classes. To reduce this possibility, the Afro-American History curriculum committee believe that by first studying the phenomenon of Prejudice and by having a greater understanding of its effect, that you will be better able to cope with some of the hurdles ahead.

The hurdles are presented not in the material, but in the mental adjusting necessary to take on new realizations and attitudes. As you know, changing your opinion about most things is difficult and frequently the resistance to change is so strong that many find it easier to maintain the old attitude than to brave the new. You enjoy challenges which is probably one reason you are taking the class. Don't underestimate the challenges ahead; they are real, but so too are the rewards.

As you glance through the Table of Contents, I think you will see that some topics will be of great interest. I hope you find them so and I urge you to discuss with the teacher those you think would be of most value.

II. Prejudice

A. Definitions and Distinctions:

1. Some definitions of prejudice:

   a. Thinking ill of others without sufficient evidence.
   b. A feeling, favorable or unfavorable, toward a person or thing, prior to, or not based on actual experience.
   c. A hostile attitude toward a person who belongs to a group, simply because the person belongs to that group and is therefore presumed to have the objectionable qualities ascribed to that group.

   The specific effect of prejudice is to place the object of the prejudice at some disadvantage not merited by his own misconduct.

2. Some distinctions in the progressive stages of acting out prejudice:

   a. Antilocution - speaking negatively, usually without evidence, about the out group member. Most prejudiced persons never go beyond this milder degree.
   b. Avoidance - this stage finds the individual avoiding members of the disliked group, even when it is at the considerable cost and inconvenience of that individual.
   c. Discrimination - here the prejudiced person makes detrimental distinctions of an active type. He undertakes to exclude all members of the group in question from various types of accommodation. (Discrimination is discussed in greater detail in the following section.)
   d. Physical Attack - when a prejudiced personality is willing to discriminate, he is highly likely, under conditions of heightened emotion, to resort to acts of violence or to threaten and cause grave fear.
   e. Extermination - lynchings, massacres, and the Hitlerian program of genocide mart the ultimate degree of violent expression of prejudice.

Considering just the social consequences, much of the idle chatter type of prejudice is generally harmless. Unfortunately, however, especially in today's rapidly paced age, the fateful progression of stages is ever growing in evidence and frequency.

B. The Predictability (of Prejudice) in Human Nature.

Humans have a natural propensity to prejudge. Everywhere on earth one finds types of separateness among groups. People usually mate

with their own kind. They eat, play and live in homogeneous groups. They socialize with their own kind and worship together. Much of this is due to nothing more than convenience.
There is no need to turn to another group for companionship. Why create for ourselves the trouble of adjusting to new languages, new foods, new cultures, or to those of a different educational level. It requires much less effort to deal solely with one's own kind.

Thus, most of the business of life can go on with much less effort by sticking together. Foreigners and those of a higher or lower socio-economic class than one's own are a strain. The obvious fact then is that human groups tend to stay apart. This tendency need not be ascribed to prejudice. The fact is adequately explained by the principles of ease, least effort, congeniality and pride in one's culture.

Once this separatism exists however, the ground is laid for a sort of natural progression. People who stay separate have few channels of communication. It is so easy to exaggerate the degree of difference between groups no less to understand why. Most important of all, however, the separateness usually leads to genuine conflicts of interest as well as to many imaginary conflicts of interest requiring an individual to justify through the various means of acting out prejudice.

C. Discrimination

Definition:

Discrimination comes about only when we deny to individuals or groups of people the equality of treatment which they wish to receive.

It occurs when steps are taken to exclude members of an outgroup from our neighborhood, school, occupation or even the country. Any form of boycott, neighborhood pressure, legal segregation and "gentlemen's agreements" are all devices for discrimination.

"Gentleman's Agreements" are not unique. They account for much of what is decryed today, particularly the young, hypocrisy; although many U. S. Court decisions have ruled that discriminatory practices are illegal, by having gentleman's agreements. Thus, lip service is given to the law, while actually, the law is being disregarded.

"Gentleman's Agreements" are considered De Facto (of the fact) discrimination. De facto is a term popularized by liberals and the media to indicate a hypocritical situation. De Jure (of the law) indicates that a legislative or judicial body has formally made or upheld a law.

III. The Prejudiced Personality

A. Suggestions for Forming Personality Test:

If the teacher thinks that a preliminary inventory of the students' tendency toward prejudice would help stimulate involvement, he might construct ten questions or so from the following information. Incidentally, this information is unvalidated, somewhat "off the top." It is in the section after this that we will deal with validated, major characteristics motivating prejudiced personalities. Of course, questions could be constructed from this section as well.

A strongly prejudiced personality might say "yes" to the following statements:

1. There's only one right way to do something.
2. If you're not constantly on guard, someone might make a sucker out of you.
3. When I think about my behavior, I think I need more discipline than I get.
4. I often feel that I "get away" with an awful lot.
5. There will always be war; it's part of human nature.
6. Only people a lot like myself have a right to be happy.
7. Generally, there's not enough discipline in our American way of life.
8. The world is hazardous, and the men in it are basically evil.
9. It would be better if more teachers would be more strict.
10. Those who commit assault, or are convicted criminals are let off too easily nowadays.

The statements above were constructed based on the following more commonly understood and accepted personality characteristics of a prejudiced person:

1. An insecure weak ego
2. Fear of change of his social environment
3. Generally feels threatened by things around him
4. Feels most comfortable when things are definite; when an authority is in command
5. A need to repress, to push out of his mind conflicts that should be faced more squarely

B. Seven Major Prejudicial Characteristics with an Explanation of Motivation

These seven are much less common or understood than the above mentioned. However, they are considered as the very roots of a prejudiced personality. Hopefully, with the explanation accompanying each, you will be convinced of how easily one can be conditioned for prejudice.

1. Ambivalence toward Parents
2. Moralism
3. Dichotomization
4. Need for Definiteness
5. Externalization of Conflict
6. Institutionalism
7. Authoritarianism

1. Ambivalence Toward Parents

On the surface, prejudiced people declare that they like their parents, that their parents did extremely well by them. However, whenever control groups are established and personality inventories are administered, the tests reveal that, underneath the surface approval, they think their parents were suspicious, hostile, critical and mean.

Just the opposite, however, is true of unprejudiced people. They're able to openly discuss their parents critically, having positive and negative characteristics. In other words, they're able to see their parents realistically. Also, when psychological batteries are administered, the unprejudiced, those able to verbally, openly, criticize, are much less negative or severe towards the parents.

Motivation:

Early child training in the home of a prejudiced person consists mainly of themes of obedience, punishment and actual and/or threatened rejection. Consequently, a relationship of power rather than of love exists. The child learns through imitation, coerced by reward-punishment or reproof. He is not allowed, given the opportunity, to fully accept himself and his failings. Rather, he must be ever on guard against any slip from grace. In such a family the child rarely knows just where he stands; a threat hangs over him at every step. Consequently, he becomes conditioned to doing anything for the sake of appearance, even when he doesn't have to, as when he's asked how he feels about his parents, but underneath....

2. Moralism

Most prejudiced personalities take rigidly moralistic views, that is, they strictly insist at all times without exception on such things as cleanliness, manners, social conventions, etc. Their wrath is severe for those who transgress their moral certitudes.

On the other hand, tolerant personalities show much greater acceptance of transgressions on their own moral code of behavior. They condemn much less frequently, and not because they have no moral code by which they themselves live, but rather they're much more able to tolerate human weakness.

Motivation:

Basically, it's a child's early failure to live with his own impulses, especially when he was made to feel guilty about many of the so normal behavior patterns of children, such as wetting pants, temper tantrums or striking out physically. A child who finds his every impulse wicked is likely to grow up hating himself. Later in life, when he sees other people's deviancy from conventional moral behavior, he grows anxious and wants the person punished just as he himself was punished as a child. Having had to fight "bad" impulses in himself, he cannot be permissive or lenient towards others.

The tolerant personality differs mainly because although his parents taught him conventional behavior, manners, etc. when he transgressed, they were careful to show not a loss of love in their eyes, but encouragement to try not to fail again. The tolerant personality thus learns to accept evil in his nature, that occasional failings are expected and that there's no need to get upset or fearful when he sees evil in others, but rather to be understanding and compassionate.

3. Dichotomization (thinking only in two dimensions)

In our discussion in (2) Moralism, we noted how a prejudiced personality fails to integrate the good and the evil into his own nature. This lack of congruency or acceptance causes much of the two valued logic of the prejudiced person. He sees things strictly as right or wrong, good or bad, he either approves or disapproves rather than accepting with compassion or understanding. The prejudiced personality usually would hold to the following propositions:

1. There are two kinds of people, the weak and the strong (morally).
2. There's only one right way to do anything.
3. There are only two kinds of women, the pure and the bad.

A prejudiced personality would probably not concur with the following poem:

There is so much good in the worst of us
So much bad in the best of us
That it scarcely behooves any of us
To talk about the rest of us.

4. Need for Definiteness

I hope I've made it clear that prejudiced personalities have a characteristically set, patterned style of thinking about anything. To illustrate further, when control groups are administered certain types of questions specifically related to tolerance for ambiguity, conclusions reveal that the prejudiced establish a norm for themselves. Their personality being rigid and requiring stability, manufacture stability when it does not objectively exist. More tolerant individuals, by contrast, are able to tolerate ambiguity longer and they usually take longer to examine evidence before establishing a norm. Another characteristic of the prejudiced is that they usually cling strictly to the old and tried solutions; they're considered to provide the only safe anchorage. The prejudiced also are disinclined to say, "I don't know!" Paradoxically, they feel more secure when they know all the answers.

Thus, the prejudiced personality demands a clear cut structure in his world; even if it is a narrow and inadequate structure. Where there is no order, they impose it and when new solutions are called for, they usually cling to tried and tested habits. Whenever possible they stay with what is familiar, safe, simple, and definite.

Motivation: Two Theories

a. Possibly the self-image of prejudiced persons is very confused. From early life they have not been able to integrate their nature, especially the good and the evil. The result is that they have no point of anchorage, no inner security. Therefore they must find definiteness outside themselves as a guide and for security.

b. Prejudiced individuals when children suffer much deprivation- of live, security, etc. Also, many things were forbidden. Therefore, they grew apprehensive of delays and gratifications, for delay might mean deprivation. Too, they develop a need for quick and definite answers. To think abstractly is to risk ambiguity and uncertainty, believing it better not to hesitate and to adopt concrete, if rigid ways of thinking.

Teacher - the following is a sort of game students may have fun with while learning more about a prejudiced individual's need for definiteness.

Present the ten following concepts to students and ask them to answer as briefly as possible the question, "In what way are any or all the following concepts interrelated?" Buddhism; Capitalism; Catholicism; Christianity; Communism; Democracy; Fasicism; Judaism Protestantism; Socialism.

1. A comprehensive organization is one in which all ten concepts are organized into a single whole. e.g. All are theories of organizing for a particular belief.

2. An isolated organization is one which breaks down the concepts into two groups - governments, religions.

3. A narrow organization is one in which one or more of the parts is omitted, e.g. Only Buddhism and Catholicism are related because they all believe in God.

Those high in prejudice give narrow groupings. Those low in prejudice give a comprehensive grouping.

5. Externalization

It is characteristic of prejudiced people to project, that is, seeing qualities in others that exist in themselves, but they're unable to see that they exist.

The tolerant personality, on the other hand, tends to rely more on itself as that which steers fate.

The motivation for prejudiced people, again, is pretty much a matter of the inability of the personality to integrate many factors. It is easier and safer for a person in inner conflict to avoid reliance on himself for himself. It's easier to think of things as to him rather than as caused by him. "I don't hate them; it is they who hate me."

6. Institutionalism

As has been pointed out, the prejudiced person, in his need for definiteness, becomes an asperser of morals who externalizes his own inner conflicts. To feel secure he needs orderliness and it is for this need that he turns to institutions. Institutions provide security which in turn provide the order on which prejudice thrives. In his clearly defined institutional memberships he finds the definiteness and safety he requires. Lodges, schools, churches, and the nation may serve as a defense against the disquiet in his personal life. Leaning on them saves him from leaning on himself.

Incidentally, many studies have uncovered a close link between prejudice and patriotism. Extreme bigots are almost always super patriots. The tie between nationalism and persecution of minority groups was clearly seen in Nazi Germany.

Motivation

Again, we see the need for external order to quell inner conflict. Therefore, the larger the institution, the greater his security.

To illustrate such a large institution, let us consider nationalism--A Nation. To someone in need of external order, safety, his nation is his chief protection as an individual. It's his "in-group." Usually he sees as no contradiction the ruling out of 'his nation' those who threaten his order, those who intrude and are his enemies, usually minorities. His nation stands for status quo; within are all the devices for his safe living. His nation resists change and it follows then that he distrusts liberals, reformers,and other "commies" because they threaten to change his safe conception of what the nation means.

7. Authoritarianism

As we've seen, change is the arch enemy of the prejudiced personality syndrome. Change disrupts the need for definite, external order. Therefore, it's rather ironic that the super-patriotic, prejudiced personality finds it so difficult living in a democracy, the epitomy of a government structured to accommodate change. He insists on the need of imposing continual authority and that what his nation needs is more authority, more discipline, more rigid structure. (It's almost as if a totalitarian state would be the more appropriate for his personality.)

Why does this personality perpertrate authoritarianism?

1. The consequences of personal freedom are unpredictable; it makes for indefiniteness, disorderliness and paves the road for change.

2. It's easier to live in a strictly defined hierarchy where people are types and where groups are not shifting and changing. Power arrangements are definite, easily understood and can be counted on.

IV. Linguistic Factors of Prejudice

A. Forming Categories

In order to hold a thought in mind for consideration, for identification, for action, we need to fix it in words. Without words our world would be a gigantic heap of sand. In this world there are some 2½ billion grains of sand corresponding to everyday life. We simply can't deal with so many separate entities in our thoughts. Our tendancy then is to categorize, to group, to form clusters. Naturally, therefore, we welcome the names that help us to form clusters. A cluster brings many grains of sand together in a single pail, which disregards the fact that many grains might have fitted just as appropriately into another pail. This act forces us to overlook all the other features or characteristics associated with the grain, many of which might offer a sounder basis for categorization than the one we used.

As you read further consider these additional tendancies which lend to the human, natural propensity to Prejudge.

1. The Process of Categorization

   Our continuous life experiences forces us to form itself in clusters (concepts, categories) and while we may call on the right cluster at the wrong time or the wrong cluster at the right time, still this process dominates our entire mental life.

2. Categorization gathers as much as it can to a single cluster.

   There is real inertia in our thinking. We like to solve problems easily. We can do this best if we can fit them rapidly into a category and use this category as a means of prejudging the solution. The point is -- the mind tends to categorize events in the most simple manner compatible with the need for action and obviously, today's action is rapid.

3. Every event has certain marks that serve as a cue to bring the category of prejudgment into action.

   Categories have a close and immediate tie with what we see, how we judge and what we do, even though we often make mistakes in fitting events to categories. Sometimes we get ourselves into trouble making snap judgments just to make our judgments speedy, smooth and consistent.

4. All the experiences in a particular category are each and every saturated with the same ideational and emotional flavor.

5. Categories may be rational or irrational.

Generally, a category starts from a "kernel of truth." i.e., there's a firm basis for feeling a particular way.

An irrational category is one formed without all the facts or adequate evidence. Ideas formed within an intense emotional situation are more likely to conform to the emotion than to the objective evidence. Or it may be that the person is simply ignorant of the facts or is dependent on hearsay or secondhand accounts in which cases category misinformation is inevitable.

B. When Categories Conflict with Evidence What Happens?

In most instances categories are stubborn and resist change. To change would only disturb a so far satisfactory set of habits. Usually new evidence is admitted if it conforms to our previous belief. But if we come across information that is contradictory we are likely to grow very resistant. This resistance can be termed "refencing," because when a fact cannot fit into a category, the exception is acknowledged, but the field is hastily refenced.

For example, a person may admit that some particular black person is an exception to his negative category, he'll admit the exception, but pop up with some defensive comment such as, "Would you want your sister to marry a Negro?" If the listener even slightly hesitates, the speaker can "refence" his category by saying, "See, there is something different about the Negro."

When Won't a Person Re-fence?

1. When he has the rare condition of habitual open-mindedness. They habitually insist on knowing the evidence for each and every generalization stated.

2. In their own self-interest . A person may learn from bitter failure that his categories are erroneous and must be revised. For example, he may not have the right category for mushrooms and suddenly find himself poisoned.

*** *** *** ***

If a person is capable of rectifying his erroneous prejudgments in the light of new evidence he is not prejudiced.

Prejudgements become Prejudices only if they are not reversible in the light of new knowledge.

C. Emotionally Toned Words and Labels

Some words and labels are exceedingly powerful. They tend to prevent alternative classification. Most often the label is negative and acts like a shrieking siren, deafening us to all finer discriminations.

Each label we use distracts our attention from reality. The label magnifies only one attribute and out of all proportion to its true significance and masks other important attributes of the person.

For example, a person may be a) human, b) philanthropist, c) Chinese, d) physician, and e) athlete. Chances are only one of these will be used as a 'label' to identify the person, such as "The Chinaman." Yet neither this nor any other classifying label can refer to the whole of a man's nature.

As a further example let us consider the most commonly used and heard label in the United States, "The Communist Label."

Logically, the label should apply to specifically definable attributes, such as members of the Communist Party or people whose allegiance is with the Russian system or a avid follower of Karl Marx. But the label has been used much more extensively.

Are we saying that any rejection of communism is prejudice? No! Obviously there are certain phases of our dispute with Communism wherein real, concrete, social conflict is involved.

Prejudice enters in only where the defining attributes of "communist" grow imprecise, when anyone who favors any form of social change is labeled "communist." People who fear social change are the ones most likely to affix the label to any persons or practices that seem to them threatening. For them their category is undifferentiated. It includes books, movies, preachers, teachers who utter what for them is an uncongenial thought.

Teacher Note:

The tendancy to reify words underscores the close cohesion that exists between category and word label. Just the mention of "Negro," "Jew," "Russia," etc. send some people into a panic or frenzy of fear. Is it simply the word label or the thing that annoys them? Hence to liberate a person from ethnic or political prejudice it is necessary at the same time to liberate him from word (label) fetishism. Any program for the reduction of prejudice must include a large measure of semantic therapy.

D. Stereotypes

Defined: Whether favorable or unfavorable, a stereotype is an exaggerated belier associated with a category. It's function is to justify, (rationalize) one's conduct in relation to that category.

We've discussed words used as labels. Stereotypes spell out the idea of the word label. Thus, category, word label, and stereotype are all aspects of a complex mental process.

For example, the category "Negro" can be held in mind simply as a neutral, factual, concept pertaining to a racial stock. Stereotype enters when the initial category is "loaded" with "pictures" and judgements of the Negro as musical, lazy, superstitious or whatever.

A stereotype there exists as a fixed mark upon the category and it usually prevents undifferentiated thinking about the concept.

Remember, a stereotype need not necessarily be altogether false. For example, generally, if we think of the Irish as more prone to alcohol than, say, Jews, we are making a fairly correct judgment. Yet, if we say, "Jews don't drink," or, "the Irish are whisky soaked," we are grossly exaggerating the facts and building up an unjustified stereotype.

Note: We can distinguish between a prejudicial stereotype and a valid stereotype only if we have solid data concerning the existence of true group differences.

(Teacher: In the Appendix, under Activities, appears a list of stereotypes regarding the Negro. Possibly students could first compile their own stereotypes of Negroes and then compare to the given list.)

Points to Ponder Who's Kidding Whom?

1. People who are anti-Negro usually accuse Negroes as 1) lecherous (primitive morality), 2) lazy, 3) dirty, 4) aggressive.

2. Now, consider our society and what "sins" do we see in our own nature? Do we not have to fight against lechery, laziness, aggressiveness and slovenliness?

   Could it be that what we're really doing is providing a scapegoat by ascribing to Negroes the fears of our own "evil" tendencies?

   Evidence is afforded by the fact that in some European countries where there is no Negro minority, it is the Jew who is blamed for lechery, filth and violence.

It is important to note that for some people stereotypes may indeed have an unconscious self-reference. One may imagine qualities in a group and hate the group for them because one is in conflict over the same qualities in oneself. In the out-group minority we're probably perceiving our own shortcomings.

Note: Stereotypes wax and wane with the intensity and direction of prejudice. Example - The Russians, judged at a time when the Soviet government and the United States were war-time allies, were seen as rugged, brave and patriotic. Within a few years the Soviets were fierce, fanatic and aggressive. Meanwhile, the unfavorable images of the Japanese altered and softened.

V. Rationalizing Prejudice

A. Scapegoating

Teacher Note: When researching I came across a pamphlet entitled "The ABC's of Scapegoating," by Gordon Allport. It is published by the Anti-Defamation League of B'NAI B'RITH, fifty cents. I considered it so handy and concise that in the interest of time I am simply forwarding each school one copy. If your Social Studies Department does not have one by September, 1970, please contact Mr. Bob Bunting at the District Office. If you find it worthwhile, it may be purchased at bulk rate.

B. Some General Sources of Rationalization

1. Personal Advantage
    a. Individual and dominant group prestige
    b. Rationalizes economic exploitation and political domination
    c. Rationalizes "getting ahead." ("Everyone else is so I will too.")
    d. Sexual advantage and exploitation
2. Ignorance (General)
    a. In section IV Stereotyping is discussed. All prejudicial stereotypes have as its deepest root - ignorance; ignorance of the concrete data available about what is being stereotyped.
    b. Ignorance of the history of prejudice in that Racism, "The Superiority Complex", is relatively new compared to political and religious prejudice.
    c. Ignorance of the fact that Racism influences people to think in terms of inherent biological superiority rather than simply a problem of environmental advantages.

3. Ignorance of the Costs

(Few people would maintain prejudicial behavior and standards if they knew how harmful they are being to themselves.)

a. Economic waste of man power to meet the demands of the market

b. Economic cost which arises out of social problems which are aggravated - such as welfare.

c. Time wasted and therefore "cost" of considering what ways minorities are to be treated. (costs of mental energy, legislations, litigations, etc.)

d. Psychological waste of creating communication barriers (the loss of being deprived of any knowledge of the minorities heritage of culture.)

e. Maintenance of prejudice engenders a closed and narrow mind towards anything new and usually seriously contributes to an inability to fully reciprocate a human realtionship.

f. Prejudicial, exaggerated stereotypes contribute to unhappiness by causing fear and anxiety.

g. When a culture contains prejudice it is easy for it to shift its direction and attention from one group to another - thus hardly any group is immune from possible antagonistic action.

h. Where prejudice exists there is a tendency to not apply laws in the same way to the minority group. Where laws are misused, or possibly ignored, they weaken and illegally become a part of the culture and, of course, as pointed out in "g" above, these illegalities can spread to any group.

And yet people go on thinking that only the group at which the prejudice is directed is hurt!

4. Transmission of Prejudice to Children

a. Adults usually don't realize they're transmitting prejudice by:
    1. Their behavior
    2. Expressions of disgust
    3. Forbidding certain associations
    4. Choice of observations
    5. Indications of what is humorous or degrading, etc.

b. By the various media and societal institutions which are discussed at length in Chapter VII - Prejudice in America Today.

C. Combatting Prejudice

1. By becoming aware of the fact that prejudice harms-financially and psychologically; that the economic, political, sexual and prestige gains are temporary and illusory; and that such "gains" usually are accompanied by exploitation.
2. By seeking and providing accurate information about minority groups against which there is prejudice.
3. By dispelling racism especially when the attack is a biological supremacy theory.
4. By encouraging legislation which penalizes discrimination.
5. By disdaining all public manifestations of prejudice especially when its made to appear respectable.
6. By demonstrating that many of the fears about minority groups are imaginary.

VI. Contending with Prejudice

A. Confrontation

Overwhelmingly, the majority of people never come to grip with their prejudices. This fact must be impressed if one is to understand the tremendous problem of changing prejudicial attitudes.

How do people begin to change? Necessarily, there must first be a confrontation; secondly, one must then pursue factual information. However, both conditions are relatively easy to avoid which the majority manages to do. A confrontation can occur when one encounters a law prohibiting what they themselves have always considered acceptable, but then loopholes in the law can be found , if one looks hard enough. A confrontation can occur when one's stereotyped comments about a minority are not condoned, but are criticized; but then "unreasonable" people can always be avoided. A confrontation may occur when one travels to another area of the country and behaves civilly towards an "out" group minority member and confronts the communities' antagonism; but then one can always avoid that section of the country.. and so forth do confrontations bombard the individual.

What then will force one to look further beyond the confrontation to find facts? Usually it takes a series of confrontations, when finally there comes a dawning, a realization that just maybe, just perhaps what is causing those unpleasant conflicts is within himself. When one is prejudiced it costs, not just economically but more personally, emotionally. The prejudiced personality is usually a "down" person. Down on himself, on others, on "them", on society and he boxes himself in, in with those like himself, those whose views are narrow like his own. To live boxed in, shutting out anything new or different can be a very restricting and emotionally harrowing experience especially in a society whose basic, democratic structure is built to encourage change. Consequently, for real change to take place from the narrow, prejudicial view to one of acceptance, one must be very anxious to exchange facts for fantasy in order to become different from the negative, doubting, ever fearful personality with which he has had to contend.

B. Stages of Realization - Usual Defenses

Any class involving black or minority studies is quite different from the ordinary confrontations just described. A class is a contrived confrontation where people do not have the usually "easy exit" escape opportunities. Additionally, resistance is made more firm since, technically, they did not voluntarily place themselves in a real life confrontation. Thus, not only can there be serious resentment as a result of the contrivance, but more so because any avoidance necessarily is conspicuous.

Nevertheless, the individuals in any class will be at various stages. Some may be at the point of being anxious for facts. Others may not even be willing to admit that they have had confrontations. If so, it is this latter group who will be the most difficult in the earlier stages of learning to cope with the realization of prejudice in self.

It is very difficult to predict how each person will react to situations where his prejudices need defense. Each has his own tolerance level. Some defend immediately; others wait. Unless some individuals in the class are so unusual that either they're prejudice free or they've previously shed their biases, you can expect more or less some progression of the stages as given below, but not necessarily inclusive of all stages: (I recommend that some time be given in class to discussion of these stages.)

1. Stage of Feigning Tolerance

Because it's so new, the student will initially feign acceptance as he's not quite sure what is happening. As a result he "buys" time to determine his coping strategy. To apply 'strategy' however, is near impossible because not only has he no previous similar experiences to call on, but the intensity of confrontation grows and to remain "cool" and in control while applying an unfamiliar strategy is hardly realistic. Thus the student will attempt participation in discussions, exhibiting nervous reactions such as being overly polite or excessively smiling or fidgeting, etc.

2. Stage of Withdrawal

With some, a second stage is symptomatic of withdrawing from oral participation. Some ignore; some listen; some are absent.

3. Stage of Mild Overt Defensiveness

At some time most will find themselves at this point as they strategically choose their moment to react to another's acceptance or toleration of some prejudice they feel they must defend. Their defense may be done consciously or unconsciously. Usually, the one tolerating is a friend or acquaintance, someone they didn't think could be so "blind."

4. Stage of Covert Defensive Reaction

Many will experience this stage as they "bad mouth" to outsiders, other people in their class, including the teacher. Those speaking ill find some sympathy among their friends (those not in the class) because the outsiders sense the friends' need and agree by mouthing the banalities they want to hear.

5. Stage of Strong Overt Defensive Reaction

Those with fairly strong prejudice will, through various ways and to different degrees, overtly react quite strongly to any group acceptance of a tolerant view. Their action may range from dropping the class, to being absent for several days, to just sitting and ignoring everything that takes place. To be sure, the motivation is to insure that all take notice of their outright refusal to be an accomplice to "ignorance." Perhaps too, some will exaggerate class discussion to elicit sympathetic reaction from parents, friends and various community groups. The more sophisticated will try to label the class "communistic."

Hopefully however, most experience some type of catharsis..A catharsis occurs when a person, feeling strongly that his view is under attack, reacts in the only way his experience permits in such an intense emotional confrontation--he explodes, i.e., he experiences some type of irrational outburst. He blames everyone else for what he's feeling. The teacher will bear the brunt for "allowing" to happen what did. Usually he's "blowing his top" because his self esteem has been injured.

Catharsis itself is not curative. The best that can be said for it is that it prepares the way for a less tense view of what's happening. No one can be changed who believes himself under attack. However, the catharsis although usually harmful, can be effective in a class because one has the time later to assimilate a change in attitude. It's aided by the usual shock to one's own conscience after one irrationally explodes.

Usually his comments have been exaggerated and unfair and the resulting shame modifies his anger and induces a more balanced point of view.

6. Stage of Auditory Contemplation

   Those remaining will begin to "hear" rather than be on the defensive. Their "hearing" will be evident in their eagerness in seeking more factual information.

7. State of Apostolic Determination

   Finally, many feel so strongly about their new found learning they will attempt to convert others, parents first, and of course, usually be greeted with consternation. And so the cycle continues.

VII Prejudice in America Today - with Alternatives

Some preliminary thoughts on the Struggle for Equality

1. Abolition of descrimination -- the grantin of legal equality is not sufficient. Whites must recognize the just necessity for compensatory treatment. (money) based on an idea such as Medicare and other Welfare programs.

2. Black identity must be fostered with the aim of joining racial goals to the goals of other minority groups and other interest groups, such as labor and industry, trade and commerce, religion and politics.

A. Prejudice and Politics

Facts:

1. All of the right wing extreme movements have been short-lived... 4 to 7 years (KKK, Know Nothings, McCarthyism, etc.)

2. These right wing groups do move the majority to at least the center, focusing attention on a prejudice, whether it be religious or racial; today we have:

   a. no politician minority slurs.
   b. any such movement today automatically takes on an anti-intellectual cast.
   c. A remarkable difference of today...Wallacism to older polulist movements.

> Wallacism repeats the oldest American conspiracy theme..that identifies changes in values and institutions with the deliberate subversive efforts of the intellectual elite. However, the blacks are not today's elite and thus these anti-civil righters can claim not being racist by seeing the black as only a pawn and one to be pitied. In other words, they have no need to hate the blacks or deal with their bigotry because the anti-civil righters' attention is diverted to feeling sorry for blacks being used by the Communists and intellectuals.
>
> For any right wing movement to succeed, the enemy must be associated with the elite, never with the common man, whether black or white. This anti-elitism is itself a form of prejudice, and it serves often to mask the real and ultimate victims of bigotry.

B. The Mass Media and Prejudice

These can affect prejudice through:

1. News reports and commentaries

2. Content of entertainment and public service programs

3. Hiring and promotional policies

Basic Assumption: (Kerner Commission Report)

1. The media has too long basked in a white world, looking out of it with white men's eyes and a white perspective.

   A news report can be impartial (objective) but at the same time highly biased in what it selects to report.

   Newspapers tend to report the sensational, the deviant, the lurid and thus automatically present predominantly a negative picture of minority groups. Where prejudice is not directly engaged, it is, in effect, sustained.

2. It has an acknowledged responsibility: to serve the public interest. This has extensive ramifications...namely, that it has an ethical, perhaps moral, responsibility to engage discrimination directly and without brainwashing, to enact policies which prove to be more than tokens, to present minorities favorably, not unobjectively, but rather through the objective eyes of a member of that minority.

   Because of the inherent risk of losing much of the public's favor, can we expect the media to move beyond what is a reasoned objectivity in news selection and unabashedly enter the struggle against prejudice? If so, how?

   This would call for the medias to select news and commentary in such a way as to educate their audiences, to breed a kind of sophistication about prejudice that would enable an audience to recognize it in itself, and to want to do something to eliminate it. e.g. News about Negro crime.

   The important factor in reporting the news is that it be done by members of the minority reported about. A white reporter is honestly being as objective as possible, but still in relation to his experiences and perceptions. (Some of the same material posed earlier here applies also.)

   How much should this media do to combat the irreparable damage done by the grotesque Negro caricatures drawn by presenting Negros as servants, as servile, as comedian, as superstitious, inferior or cowardly. White producers constructed black roles primarily to fit white stereotypes.

   Alright....they no longer do this. They have upped the values portrayed...but...WHOSE VALUES ARE THEY??? STILL WHITE?? Do Cosby and Carroll represent Black values and experiences or are they still models of a white middle class?

   The key to solving many of the media's minority problems is personnel. As long as blacks must rely on an almost all white (minus 4.7%) news reporting and selecting system, their lives will continue to be shown from a white perspective....usually in stereotype.

It depends upon the media's resolution to give Blacks more than a fair deal. This takes courage. It will take a brains and money to design a program that will bring sufficiently greater numbers of minority group members into media employment, because blacks aren't accustomed to the job seeking practices of whites, nor are they aware of such openings, nor are hiring practices, interviews and tests familiar to them; after all, aren't they based on only one way of doing it...the white way?

C. In Schools

There are many facts which support the thesis that within today's public schools prejudice exists. For education to be considered as possessing the great amount of leverage towards progress and change which it should have, in order for it to bear on all society and to reform or reconstitute it, is ridiculous; the local "autonomy" of schools is complexly imbedded with that very society. Another important factor is that the ghetto school prejudges against the child; his opportunities are diministed and schools act to confirm their pessimistic prophesies. They subject the child to humiliating indignities for two primary reasons:

1. The school's values are predominantly middle class since most teachers and administrators are middle-class oriented.

2. The school rarely accepts the child's culture, but rather assumes that it is the child's duty and responsibility to adopt the white middle class culture.

How, therefore, can the child not suffer indignities?

Furthermore, it is easy to build prejudice into the materials of the school curriculum; not only do these materials purvey a biased attitude to the middle class child, who is given a censored and misleading picture of the society in which he is later to take part, but also to the slum child.

The latter cannot find his own experience validly represented; thus he usually concludes that it is a matter for suppression and shame, or that school is something irrelevant, to be endured and resisted, an agency of "their" world and not of his own.

Schools simply do not know how to educate youngsters from the lower socio-economic class. The pattern of the school is, in effect, to ignore or destroy the culture that is 'deviant', to assume that the child must totally adjust himself to the culture of the school. This solution is unsatisfactory. Some radicals today say that the adjustment must be made totally by the schools, but this would condemn minorities to remain perpetually outside the mainstream of society because there are certain middle class traits, values, attitudes which are nonetheless essential to function in the technological society we have today and that of the future. Without verbal skills, craftsmanship, and analytical-conceptual skills, one is relegated to the life of an unskilled laborer.

There are also numerous studies to point out the prejudicial friendship choices and attitudinal beliefs that particular racial groups confirm; i.e. that a certain ethnic or religious group tends to find friends among themselves since their friends support their particular cultural values.

Although it is customary in social sciences to use "ethnocentrism" as a fancy synonym for prejudice, one can prefer one's own kind, and preferentially seek one's friends from among them, but without denigrating other ethnic and/or religious groups. In most studies of school prejudice it is found that the higher the grade, the greater the prejudice; parents most often condition the prejudice evidenced through derogatory stereotypes of other groups.

For most, similarity or dissimilarity of personal values is a much more powerful determinant of liking and social distance (prejudice) than is social status, race, or religious affiliation. The implication here is that rather than mere desegregation, more effort on the part of schools is required to penetrate and dislodge prejudiced attitudes. When students can get together to get to know one another well enough to discover essential similarities where they had previously assumed differences, prejudices crumble. They must ENCOUNTER one another for this to happen. Encounters such as these are rare indeed in our schools today.

Most teachers indicate real concern regarding intergroup relations, that they should be discussed and as a matter of fact, may. However, in many studies of teachers, the latter claim to have discussed these matters very little in actuality. Few claim to have ever discussed Negro history and culture in class or privately outside class with individual students.

The overall picture is one of passivity and unconcern. Thus, it is apparent that schools must take steps to encourage encounter or else the students will go on their merry way ignoring members of other groups on the assumption that they are different. It is clear that the school's story with regard to prejudice is one of missed opportunity....of what did not happen educationally.

I have spoken earlier of the problem of leverage. Schools are the creatures of our society. Can they make the pursuit of justice and the reduction of prejudice major goals if the society as a whole does not?

Dewey said: "To an extent characteristic of no other institution, save the state, the school has the power to modify the social order."

However, he also said; "The school is fundamentally an institution erected by society to do a specific work -- to exercise a certain specific function in maintaining the life and advancing the welfare of society.

These goals seem antithetical; this is a charge frequently presented to the public school system.

Thus, how much leverage do the schools really have; how much freedom to change a society whose values they are also bound to transmit? The answer is that they have a good deal less than what most laymen suspect, but a great deal more than most teachers and administrators think they have and more than they are currently applying. Their sense of impotence, however, is understandable; people are usually more aware of the limitations on their power than they are of the power itself. Unlike the administrators who feel or imagine parent or community limitations, the teachers' vulnerability is the need to be liked by the children, the need to have evident and immediate response.

What is difficult to understand here is the lack of understanding of just how moral the school's role is. It is probably precisely this problem that is undermining progress in understanding and solving prejudice in the school. "The moral purpose," as Dewey stated, "is universal and dominant in all instruction, whatsoever the topic."

Students are taught a host of lessons about values, ethics, morality, justice, integrity, intergroup relations and attitudes every day of the week by the way the schools are organized, the way the teachers behave, the standards that are set. What is taught and how it is taught reflects consciously or unconsciously our concept of the good life.

What are some of the "moral lessons" implicitly taught today?

1. Authority is not to be questioned.

2. People are readily labeled; this label, no matter how unjust, is hard to remove.

3. Docility is preferred to dissent.

4. Authority need not be tempered by respect for the people over whom it is exercised.

5. What counts is not what you do but whether or not you get caught.

6. The object of learning is to get good grades.

Hence, there is no question that morality is a part of schools, but what needs to be done is to recognize it and to commit ourselves to discussion of ideas about morality. There needs to be greater teaching to the ideas of justice, equality, prejudice, Negro and Chicano history, white racism, etc. However, in the last analysis, what we teach will be less important for the purpose at hand than how we teach; what we do speaks louder than what we say.

Counselors must work with teachers, children and parents, state and federal aid must be obtained for poor students. But, it is in the elementary schools that the child develops a sense of self-worth, a success identity or a failure identity; this in turn will determine the child's aspirations, motivations, and abilities. In short, **ACCEPT, CARE, GET INVOLVED.** Have as your main teaching goal the above; then, perhaps motivation and interest won't be so hard to evolve.

As teachers, we must think creatively and flexibly to find ways to motivate children, especially the lower socioeconomic class youth, which is for the most part the minority children of different yet rich cultures.

The latter implies certain teaching techniques as well as some institutional revamping:

1. Utilize a success-oriented teaching technique, stressing the positive rather than the negative in the child's cultural behavior and characteristics.

2. In so doing, delete failure from classrooms.

3. Investigate thoroughly and utilize the interests, hobbies, and cultural backgrounds of all the children in a class. This makes school relevant to the needs and interests of each child.

4. Never teach to "cover" any set amount of material, or get frustrated at not doing so.

Specific time must be provided for a wide variety of extra-curricular activities within the school day, rather than after school. More lower socioeconomic youth could participate since after school obligations would not be involved. Youngsters with abilities or special interests should be allowed to organize their own clubs or activity groups, to act as teachers to others within their own particular spheres of interest. This would provide opportunities for success.

We must work to eliminate the myth of racial superiority.

1. Utilize minority cultures in class curricula by integrating them in daily regular curricula.

2. Keep in mind that IQ tests are geared to middle class white

Anglo-Saxon Protestants; thus, children with other cultural backgrounds or a poor Anglo one will be penalized in these tests.

3. Accept each child where he is and offer as much experience to each as possible within the psychologically safe environment of your classroom, where trust, acceptance, and communication prevail.

4. Each classroom and school must become a democratic institution.

5. Teachers must learn how to teach students and themselves to recognize similarities beneath the differences.

D. Prejudice in the Marketplace

Business and organized labor must acknowledge their share in perpetuating inequities.

Quote: Money can't buy love, but it can buy decent homes, and education, and even respect ....things that are essential if a man is to move up into productive and equal citizenship.

This is the step that enables him as well as others, to live in a good house in a nice neighborhood, and to send his children to a good school.

Quote: Rebellion is born of hope, however cynically it may be clothed, of a belief in change. In this sense, rebellion is healthier than apathy or despair.

Industry has available to it the opportunity to make a break through more readily than other sectors of life. Why?

The genius of American busines has always been its capacity to perceive its long term self-interest and invest substantially in the development of that interest. Aside from the moral imperative, there is the brute fact that industry cannot operate efficiently in a conflict-torn society. And investing it is! But despite this investment in recruitment and on the job training, despite its growing community involvement, industry is still falling far short of both its obligations and potentialities. Business has not seized its opportunities for leadership as aggressively as it should.

ONE ROOT OF THE PROBLEM

Business has shown concern with industrial relations between employer and employee, between supervisor and staff, but it has shown almost no interest through the years in HUMAN RELATIONS. Until recently management has had little concern for the attitudes of supervisory personnel; attitudes that may influence employment on ethnic or religious grounds.

That prejudicial attitudes permeate the world of industry and labor is not difficult to understand or to document.

E.G. A study covering 2/3 of private employment agencies in New York City.. 87% accept an order for a "White Gentile secretary because they are always the most capable and we don't accept colored." This is not only prejudice, it's also illegal.

Quote: Racism comes in many deceitful disguises; frequently hidden under a veneer of politeness, even fellowship. We could say Racism has gone underground.

Good "normal" Americans are frequently blind to it themselves. Nevertheless, no matter how socially acceptable to "others" he may be, he holds stereotyped notions about minorities.

E.G. "We ourselves have no objection to a Negro Vice-President, but our customers might feel funny about it."

It is this Northern brand of prejudice: promise without performance, sanctimonious lip service to liberalism, equality in law and servitude in fact, good itentions held by people who don't begin to comprehend the dimensions of the problem and who are blind to the prejudice which subtly militates against comprehension.

WAYS TO BEGIN:

1. **EARNEST COMMITMENT AT THE TOP**

   He must be involved not only at work but in the community, school, church, etc. it is from him that the staff will pick up his reinforcement cues.

2. **UNTIRING EFFORTS TO PROPOGATE THAT COMMITMENT THROUGH THE RANKS**

   Fire on the spot anyone discriminating. Every supervisor must feel the responsibility. It wil count against him; thus, it is in his personal interest not to discriminate.

3. **EXAMINATION OF RECRUITING PROCEDURES**

   A common excuse is that there are not sufficient minority members qualified; It is in how you seek!

   E.G. In New York City,2 top banks have 31 branch managers..yet 4 other banks could find none qualified. One top law firm has 11 clerks but 4 others found none qualified.

   One barrier to locating people may be the recruiters themselves. If they are stereotype-ridden they need a workshop in human relations.

4. REVIEWING STANDARDS FOR HIRING AND PROMOTION

   Many tests are not fair evaluation of a person's true ability. When tests devised for middle class whites are applied to the ghetto, prejudice is at work.

5. ESTABLISHMENT OF A SYSTEMS ANALYSIS PROGRAM to see that nondiscrimination policies are enforced and that top management gets regular reports. If business finds methods for monitoring its operations, (i.e. such as on safety) the top brass get regular reports from each division. The same procedure can be applied to eliminate prejudice.

E. THE FUNCTION OF CROSS INSTITUTIONAL STRATEGY

For controlling prejudice and discrimination in American life, we must basically feel that American society has the potential for bringing practice more in line with potential. What is this potential? How is it to be tapped?

The potential is the major social institutions of the society...the church, the mass media, the schools, business and organized labor. What is needed is a cross-institutional strategy for reducing the gap between promise and reality. Pragmatically, then, what needs to be done, singly and collectively (institutions) are the following:

1. COMMITMENT...There must be created among the leaders of all social institutions the conviction that the control of prejudice and discrimination is a legitimate and pressing institutional goal.

2. PLAN FOR INSTITUTIONAL ACTION..... It is easy to declare that there ought to be equality, that police should exemplify tolerance, etc. However, what specifically is to be taught, legislated, and regulated? Who is to formulate these courses of action? How are they to be carried out?

3. Development and implementation of blueprints for actions take RESOURCES.. money, talent, and time. Nothing much is going to be accomplished unless there is a method for payment.

   Generating the institutional will to do something about prejudice is, in part, simply a matter of making the problems more salient. But the facts are not readily available. We simply do not have comprehensive knowledge of how and to what extent Americans are prejudiced. Also, there is no periodic updating of what limited information we do have in order to permit realistic assessment of progress. Such information could mobilize a national concern about the social ills of prejudice and discrimination.

   This concern could provide the impetus to want to do something. One other problem, however, is that there is very little precedent for large scale institutional campaigns against prejudice. The development and testing of such programs are a first order of business if we are to move beyond only talking about prejudice. This attack must be a coordinated one, not a piecemeal and chaotic effort by each school district, church or newspaper acting on its own.

The possibility of sheer ineffectiveness or even boomerang is a real danger. Consequently, the constant need for hard evaluative research cannot be emphasized too strongly. The research must be done INTER-INSTITUTIONALLY as well as INTRA-INSTITUTIONALLY. It would be best if there were even a partnership for prejudice reduction in which industry cooperates with labor, the police with the courts, and the media with all its facets. Also, collaboration between schools and industry or labor on adult education programs could be valuable. The mass media could easily work with schools and churches in the development of audio-visual educational materials.

Where are funds to come from?

a. Mostly the institutions themselves
b. Foundations and government sources
c. Private philanthropists

When and if institutions want to do something badly enough, and know how to do it, the financial problems will not loom nearly so large as they do when contemplating the possibilities in the abstract.

To assign responsibility for guiding and overseeing the nation's efforts is a central coordinating agency such as NATIONAL FOUNDATION against PREJUDICE AND DISCRIMINATION (our most virulent social disease.). In the distant future such an agency might become an arm of the federal government, perhaps a division of Health, Education and Welfare.

A great deal of the above may seem like wishful thinking...and probably is. Institutional effort probably cannot be mustered to move as far or as fast as we would like, even though the proposals are modest compared to views of far left and far right. All will have to battle public apathy. Without public pressure, institutions will not heed the call.

This would be most unfortunate, for these are no ordinary times for Americans. Minority groups numbering close to 40 million Americans are no longer remaining quiet or passive. They want change...and quickly. Many believe in evolutionary reform within the system will achieve their goals. Unfortunately, the course of events may be determined by the fear and bigotry that our nation has allowed to simmer too long. There are already signs of bitter public reception to extremist solutions both of the left and the right. It may even now be too late to repair the damages. Given the revolutionary temper of our times, our institutions' collective ability to deal with prejudice may well spell the difference between their viability and their defeat. But before we talk of scrapping our institutions we must give them every possible chance to help heal the cleavages in our national life.

VIII The Tolerant Personality

A. Suggestions for Forming Personality Inventory

If the teacher might find it feasable to utilize a preliminary inventory of each student's ability to tolerate, perhaps to stimulate interest, he might construct ten questions or so from the following information.

Most of the statements have high validity results from statistical data compiled by Allport et.al There is no sequential order of any kind. Perusal for whatever relevant personal advantage is most advisable. (T.P. = tolerant people (personalities)

1. Tolerant personalities are most likely to come from homes with permissive atmospheres. They are welcomed, accepted and loved as persons although their actions at times may not be condoned.
2. T.P. are not "threat oriented." They don't feel impending doom.
3. The T.P. has greater flexibility, i.e., highly demonstrated by the rejection of "two valued logic," the either-or proposals.
4. In school or work, the T.P. does not feel the strong need for precise, orderly, clear-cut instructions before proceeding with a task. Consequently, he's more secure to be more original or creative.
5. The T.P. has a high frustration tolerance level particularly characterized by "tolerance for ambiguity."
6. The T.P. tends to take the optimistic view, i.e. he has a humorous nature and believes it can be changed for the better.
7. Generally, where one finds higher education, one finds a higher level of tolerance.
8. The T.P. has little or no interest in group or minority distinctions. A person is a person. He doesn't view life in terms of power hierarchies, consequently-
9. Political values are now on the list of how the T.P. characterizes another person; consequently-
10. The T.P. has less of an economic outlook on life and, therefore, is not sensitive to minority groups in terms of their being an economic threat, i.e., that any rise in their status might take money out of one's own pocket.
11. The T.P., generally, is aesthetic, i.e., each single incident and experience is self contained and intrinsically valuable.
12. An aesthetic person therefore, would judge each as a person--certainly not as a member of a group.

13. The T.P. feels better as a person, more content, when he is with many different types of personalities simultaneously.

14. The T.P. tends to be more aware of himself which has a high correlation with tolerance.

15. The T.P. is self critical, introspective, and is not given to passing blame on to others. The T.P., recognizing his own faults and frequently being able to laugh at himself, is not prone to castigate others for what may be their own responsibility.

16. Being self critical, introspective, there is considerable evidence that the T.P. is more accurate in their judgments of personality than are intolerant people. This ability is sometimes called empathy or being able to "size up;" he feels genuine sympathy, especially for an "underdog", a minority, and "feels" the sufferings of others and finds happiness in helping improve the lot of his fellow man.

17. The T.P. deemphasizes the importance of rugged individualism, particularly in business success.

18. The T.P. would decrease the power of business and increase the function and role of labor.

19. The T.P. is most likely to be a liberal in his political views, i.e., more desirous of change.

20. Therefore, the T.P. is more likely to be classified as a "radical."

B. Parting Thoughts.

1. The fact that liberalism and radicalism both correlate positively with ethnic tolerance places a strong weapon in the hands of bigots. They can make the charge, with a grain of truth, that those who vehemently urge greater civil rights are "radicals."

2. The development of mature and democratic and unprejudiced personalities is largely a matter of building inner security. Only when a life is free from threats, or when threats are adequately handled with inner strength, can one be at ease with all sorts and conditions of men.

IX References

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AFRO-AMERICAN HISTORY

AN ABBREVIATED OUTLINE

As devised by the Committee, there will be ten units of study in the new course of Afro-American studies. Each unit, hopefully, could be incorporated by interested teachers into the existing U. S. History curriculum.

A much more detailed outline will be submitted with the final curriculum guide which is to be submitted in July.

AFRO-AMERICAN HISTORY

AN ABBREVIATED COURSE OUTLINE BASED ON UNITS OF STUDY

Unit #1: America's African Heritage

- I. Anthropologists are shedding new light on our African heritage.
- II. During antiquity, Black Africans had an enormous impact upon the history of the Mediterranean world.
- III. During the early Christian era, many Black Africans merged with white European society.
- IV. During the so-called "dark ages" in Europe, several important national states developed in Black Africa.

Unit #2: The Legacy of the Colonial Era (1492-1763) on the Black Man

- I. Black Africans contributed much to the period of discovery and exploration.
- II. The slave trade was one of the darkest episodes in the history of man.
- III. The slave trade had an enormous impact upon the world.

Unit #3: The American Revolutionary Era

- I. Blacks played an important role in initiating the open conflict between England and the American colonies.
- II. The Revolution of 1776 was a great paradox: freedom for white Americans but slavery for Black Americans.
- III. Blacks contributed much to the American victory.
- IV. The revolutionary war compounded the race problem in the United States.
- V. America at the end of the 18th century still had a small chance to alleviate the race problem.

Unit #4: The "Cotton Curtain" descends, circa 1800-1850.

- I. The "Cotton Curtain" and the "Iron Curtain" may be compared.
- II. The "Cotton Curtain" helped to solidify white attitudes toward race and the Negro in particular.

Unit #5: Racial Conflicts Lead to the Civil War, circa 1820-1860.

- I. The Missouri Crisis came as the "firebell in the night."
- II. Colonization societies increased in importance after 1820.
- III. The abolitionist Crusade became a dominant political issue in America after 1830.
- IV. The pre-Civil War generation, the abolitionist movement produced a series of political "giants."
- V. As abolitionist agitation increased so did hostility against them and the free Negroes.

Unit #6: The Civil War: A "Down Payment" for the Price of Slavery

I. The first reaction of the white government was to resist Black participation in the struggle.
II. The Negro–both as a soldier and as a civilian–became the central issue of the Civil War.

Unit #7: The Reconstruction Era (1865-1877)

I. The suddenness of Black liberation was a shattering experience for all sections of the nation.
II. The Lincoln-Johnson plan of Reconstruction was initially adopted.
III. Southern intransigence helped northern white radicals to gain power.
IV. Radical reconstruction was a traumatic experience for the South.
V. The Compromise of 1877 ended reconstruction and "sold" Negroes "down the river."

Unit #8: The Birth of Jim Crow (1877-1901)

I. The name "Jim Crow: evolved over a long period of time.
II. Several factors contributed to the acceptance of the new form of Jim Crow after 1877.
III. As a result of these changing attitudes, the southern states created a series of laws designed to perpetuate the isolation of the American Negro.
IV. Jim Crow has had an enormous psychological and political impact on American life.

Unit #9: An Age of Despair, Circa 1895-1939.

I. The Progressive era brought many changes which resulted in great economic and social progress for whites but limited progress for Blacks.
II. The "Golden 20's" are more fondly remembered by whites than by Blacks as "the good old days."
III. The great depression of the 1930's resulted in terrible privations for millions of whites and near total disaster for most Blacks.

Unit #10: World War II triggered the great Civil Rights Struggle of our own time.

I. American War aims were extremely noble.
II. World War II established important new principles.
III. Civil Rights germinated during the immediate post war era.
IV. Since the 1954 Supreme Court Decision the Civil Rights movement has produced a series of important leaders.
V. The 1970's: America at the crossroads.

Unit 1

AMERICA'S AFRICAN HERITAGE

Unit # 1: Our African Heritage

AN OVERVIEW

Most United States history courses devote some time to a study of "our European heritage" but offer little or no effort to an analysis of "our African heritage." Few, if any, scholars would doubt the necessity of the former. A study of the political, economic and social forces of the European scene during the renaissance era reveals much about the motivation of our European ancestors who were embarking upon the period of discovery and exploration which proved to be so vital to the early history of the American nation.

But in focusing attention on the drama of Europe, too many historians have abruptly ignored an African heritage which also had a tremendous impact upon the evolution of the American character. Consequently, most history students tend to believe that little, if anything, about African society during the renaissance era is worthy of serious study. Indeed, most of us probably assume that black Africans at this time were savage and that while their enslavement was unfortunate, it did have the long range benefit of enabling blacks to be "uplifted" by their being inserted into a superior civilization.

The purpose of this unit should not be to prove that one civilization was superior to another. Rather, it should be to stress that a dynamic, vibrant society did exist in Africa. Furthermore, it is essential for us to recognize that black Africans contributed much to the progress of African civilization.

Only when the student comes to the point of recognizing this historical versimilitude, can he visualize the full barbarity of the uprooting of the African--a human being with deep cultural ties to the land--and the monstrous cruelty of inserting him into an alien world which quickly came to regard the black as a dangerous menace to the white presence in the British colonies.

We have available several significant oral film strips which do much to help a student visualize the great art of Africa. In addition, we have records which dramatize the musical contributions.

Unit # 1

America's African Heritage

I. ANTHROPOLOGISTS ARE SHEDDING NEW LIGHT ON OUR AFRICAN HERITAGE.

- A. It may be true that all mankind descends from African ancestors.
- B. It may be true that all mankind descends from the "killer Ape."
    - 1. What is the nature of man?
    - 2. Why does man hate and fear? (See unit on prejudice.)

II. DURING ANTIQUITY, BLACK AFRICANS HAD AN ENORMOUS IMPACT UPON THE HISTORY OF THE MEDITERRANEAN WORLD.

- A. Blacks contributed much to the culture of Egypt.
    - 1. Ethiopia claims to be the spiritual father of Egyptian civilization.
    - 2. Egyptians regarded themselves as "colored" or "black"; yet most historians deny that Egyptians were black.
- B. Basic cultural concepts developed in equatorial Africa during antiquity.
    - 1. Tribal communities--as opposed to free enterprises--provided the basic social order.
    - 2. A rich literature flowered.
        - a. Only four significant written languages evolved--Egyptian, Ethiopian, Berber and Vai (Liberian).
        - b. Most of the literature remained oral.
    - 3. Important religious concepts evolved in nearly all African societies.
        - a. Black Africans accepted a Superior God as the Creator.
        - b. Black Africans developed a concept of "ancestor worship."
        - c. Black Africans believed in a "life force" similar to the Hindu concept of "Brahman."
    - 4. Music and rhythm evolved to a high degree.
    - 5. Slavery evolved in Black Africa.
        - a. Captured prisoners were held in bondage
        - b. As in other parts of the ancient world, slaves had basic rights and sometimes had wealth and power.

Unit # 1

America's African Heritage

III. DURING THE EARLY CHRISTIAN ERA, MANY BLACK AFRICANS MERGED WITH THE WHITE, EUROPEAN SOCIETY.

- A. Many individual blacks became influential in Roman society as merchants, politicians and military figures.
- B. Some Africans became important leaders in the Christian Church, such as, for example, St. Augustine.
- C. Wide spread intermarriage between black Africans and southern Europeans was accepted as a normal phase of life.

IV. DURING THE SO CALLED "DARK AGES" IN EUROPE, SEVERAL IMPORTANT NATIONAL STATES DEVELOPED IN BLACK AFRICA.

- A. These nations all had certain features in common.
  - 1. They were essentially agricultural in nature.
  - 2. Their economies were buttressed with the flowering of handicraft industries and some foreign trade.
  - 3. They all were dominated by the cultural concepts previously mentioned.
- B. Three of the national states stand out in history.
  - 1. Ghana saw its hey-day from circa 800-1100.
  - 2. Mali's history was more extensive, circa 650-1450.
    - a. Its greatest king was Sundiati Keita who transformed Mali from a nation into an empire.
    - b. Gonga Musa, ruler from 1307-1334, was one of the greatest and richest rulers of the medieval world.
  - 3. Songhay was the last great national state in black Africa.
    - a. Its history covers a 300 year span, circa 1450-1750.
    - b. Askia Mohammad, r. 1493-1512, was a ruler often emulated by monarchs in Europe.
    - c. Timbuktu became one of the great cultural capitals of the 16th century--the center of art, education and trade.

Unit 2

THE LEGACY OF THE COLONIAL ERA ON THE BLACK MAN

Unit # 2: The Legacy of the Colonial Era on the Black Man

AN OVERVIEW

This unit encompasses almost 300 years of history and must concentrate on broad generalizations. Probably the best approach is to examine the colonial era by probing common misconceptions.

First, it is important to note that blacks, as well as whites, contributed much to the early period of discovery and exploration. This was especially true among the Spanish and Portuguese. This brings us to a second generalization which must be approached with great discretion; namely, that black participation was common among the Latin nations because of the frequent practice of racial interrmarriage among black Africans and southern Europeans. This trend would seem to conflict with a third theme of colonial history, that slavery in the New World was the first to be based on race. This is an outgrowth of the economics of slavery. One needs to comprehend the enormous difficulty of the early economies of New World plantations and the failure of white indentured servants or Indians to provide adequate labor. Identity became an important feature of American slavery and what was more identifiable than color of skin? Tragically, this development inevitably proved to be the undoing of all blacks in the plantation South.

That slavery in America became automatically equated to race is of fundamental importance. As the economic need for slavery increased so did justification for perpetuating slavery. This was to have far reaching consequences upon 19th century America.

One might also pose the question: "Should we not blame black Africans for participating in the slave trade?" This is a pertinent issue. Slavery had always existed in Africa and Africans, like Greeks and Romans before them, had accepted the principle that slaves had basic rights. Thus, we must arrive at the fundamental problem. In colonial America, for the first time in the history of man, a form of slavery was evolving that denied that slaves had any rights. This is the factor contributing to the most brutal form of slavery that ever existed. Combining this trend with the fact that American slavery was based on race compounded the agony of later racial conflicts.

Another closely related theme of colonial America was that racial miscegenation was taking place. The refusal of white Americans to publicly admit the trend seemed to heighten racial animosities and the extreme brutality of American slavery.

Finally, it must be shown in this unit that the slave trade led to imperial rivalries that had an enormous impact upon the world balance of power which, in turn, had great consequences upon the United States.

Unit # 2

The Legacy of the Colonial Era (circa 1492-1763) on the Black Man

I. BLACK AFRICANS CONTRIBUTED MUCH TO THE PERIOD OF DISCOVERY AND EXPLORATION

  A. Blacks served as important aides to practically every conquistador.

  B. Some blacks were conquistadors themselves

II THE SLAVE TRADE--AS IT EVOLVED DURING THE FIFTEENTH THROUGH EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES--WAS ONE OF THE DARKEST EPISODES IN THE HISTORY OF MAN

  A. While slavery was not new, the profit motive--as a major economic motivation--was new.

  B. Slavery in the New World was the first to be based on race.

    1. Ironically, during the early days of slavery, there was a noticeable increase of racial intermarriage.
      a. This trend was openly practiced in the Latin countries--Spain, Portugal, Italy and Latin America.
      b. This trend was practiced clandestinely in the so-called Anglo-Saxon countries, above all the 13 British colonies along the eastern Atlantic seaboard.

    2. Slavery proved to be far more cruel in the English-speaking, Protestant world than it was in the non-English-speaking, Catholic world.
      a. There seems to be a clear connection between "guilt" associated to unrecognized interracial blending in the Anglo-Saxon world and brutality of slavery.
      b. Freedom for slaves in the Latin world was far easier to obtain.
      c. The Roman Catholic Church seems to have been more concerned for "souls" of blacks than the Protestant church.

  C. The majority of blacks never accepted their slave status in the new world.

    1. Many had been seized from the proud "upper classes."

    2. A code of "passage resistance" evolved over the centuries.

  D. Ironically, the first blacks in the 13 colonies came not as slaves but as indentured servants..

    1. As the demand for agricultural workers skyrocketed, regular sources of indentured servants--white or black--dried up.

    2. Indian slavery proved to be a total failure.

    3. Big profits had already been made in slave trading in other areas.

    4. By the end of the 17th century, each of the 13 colonies had passed a series of laws which, in effect, made slavery in the colonies both permanent and racial.

Unit # 2

The Legacy of the Colonial Era (circa 1492-1763) on the Black Man

III THE SLAVE TRADE HAD AN ENORMOUS IMPACT UPON THE WORLD

A. The Balance of Power was drastically altered.

1. A combination of forces--political, economic and technological--made Europe stronger than Africa by the end of the 16th century.

2. As a result, Europe was able to impose its will upon its weaker neighbor.

B. The slave trade proved to be disastrous to Africa.

1. Between 1500-1860, about 40,000,000 Africans were forcibly taken from their native continent.

2. This decimated African culture in political, economic and social ways.

C. The slave trade established racial attitudes in the New World, and especially in the future United States, which encouraged the growth of guilt, suspicion and hatred. (See unit on prejudice.)

Unit 3

THE AMERICAN REVOLUTIONARY ERA

Unit # 3: The American Revolutionary Era (1763-1800)

AN OVERVIEW

The American Revolutionary Era is a fascinating study of paradoxes insofar as race relations are concerned. Most revolutions seek and glorify heroes who fall as martyrs to the revolutionary cause. The American experience is no exception. Yet the name of the first American to die at the hands of British tyranny is virtually lost to most Americans. Had he been white instead of black such an omission would probably not have occurred. This brings to light the first great issue of this epoch. Black Americans, as well as white Americans, played a significant role in initiating the break with England.

An even greater paradox evolved during the war. While proclaiming the essential equality of all men, most white Americans who owned slaves refused to free them. This proved to be a source of great embarrassment especially as the British moved to free blacks willing to enlist in their armies. The failure of our forefathers to reselve this paradox looms ominous in later chapters of American history.

Ironically, many Negroes joined the American forces during the revolution whether or not they were guaranteed emancipation. They contributed much to the final American victory. This could be studied in greater or lesser length as the individual teacher prefers. It is important to note that by the end of the war almost 20 per cent of the men under Washington's command were black.

Finally, it should be stressed that as a consequence of the war and black participation therein, many Americans envisioned the eventual emancipation of slaves. Indeed, many thousands had gained their liberation as a result of their having fought on the American side, or the British side or their having fled to Canada or Florida. Several northern states were rewriting legal restrictions against blacks and in some cases began to outlaw slavery altogether. Tragically, this "gentile" 18th century optimistic view about the future of race relations suddenly came to an end during the last decade of the 18th century. The factors contributing to this dramatic and tragic reversal must be studied carefully. The failure of America to carry out in practice the revolutionary ideals of the 1770s for its black population still haunt our nation today.

Unit # 3

The American Revolutionary Era

I. BLACKS PLAYED AN IMPORTANT ROLE IN INITIATING THE OPEN CONFLICT BETWEEN ENGLAND AND THE AMERICAN COLONIES.

  A. Several Blacks participated in the Stamp Act Riots

  B. The Boston Massacre was a major turning point in the trend toward violence by the Americans.

    1. Crispus Attucks was one of the leading black malcontents.

    2. He was the first American to die in the revolutionary struggle; yet he has largely gone unrecognized in American history.

II. THE REVOLUTION OF 1776 WAS A GREAT PARADOX

  A. The paradoxical issue was never resolved.

    1. Black men were dying so that white men could be free.

    2. While white were proclaiming the need for freedom, they often resisted the freeing of the slaves.

  B. This conflict did disturb many Americans, black and white, who thundered against slave-owning tyranny as well as British tyranny.

    1. James Otis

    2. Thomas Paine

    3. Abigail Adams

    4. Thomas Jefferson in the first draft of the Declaration of Independence

  C. Even as blacks tried to help their white countrymen, the latter began to react against them.

    1. In July, 1775, George Washington issued an order forbidding the enlistment of Negroes.
      a. It was argued that blacks made poor soldiers.
      b. It was submitted that it was unfair to ask blacks to die fighting for a white man's cause.
      c. It was regarded as a dangerous precedent to arm black men, especially the slaves.

Unit # 3

The American Revolutionary Era

2. Shortly after Washington's order appeared, the British began to recruit Negroes, slave and free
    a. Several thousand slaves fled to the British lines.
    b. Washington then changed his order, permitting free Negroes to enlist in the colonial army.
    c. After Valley Forge, Washington finally issued an order which allowed for the enlistment of Negroes who were slaves.

III. BLACKS CONTRIBUTED MIGHTILY TO THE AMERICAN VICTORY DURING THE REVOLUTION

A. Many blacks served with distinction in specific battles.

1. Battle of Concord.

2. Green Mountain Boys--Primas Black and Epheram Blackman.

3. Battle of Bunker Hill - Peter Salem

4. Crossing of the Delaware

5. Battle of Saratoga

6. Battle of Yorktown

B. Volunteers from Haiti formed the Fontages Legion which gave to Henri Christophe very valuable military experience.

C. Blacks served as a valuable aid in espionage activity--James Armistead helped trap Cornwallis at Yorktown.

D. Blacks served with distinction at sea.

1. Many sailors were black.

2. Mark Starlin

E. By the end of the Revolution more than 5,000 blacks were in the army.

IV THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR HAD A GREAT IMPACT UPON THE RACE PROBLEM

A. Many thousands of ex-slaves gained their freedom.

1. Approximately 100,000 slaves were granted freedom by Americans.
    a. Some became free as a result of their enlistment.
    b. Others were liberated due to new state laws.

2. Another 100,000 slaves gained freedom by fleeing the United States--Canada, Florida, Indian lands or England.

B. Legal slavery died in the North as a direct result of the war.

1. In some states, slavery was abolished immediately.

2. In other states, the process occurred slowly over a period of 10-20 years.

C. In the afterglow of victory it seemed possible that America might be able to solve the race problem by peaceful and evolutionary means.

1. As a result of the post-war liberation, some blacks began to make concrete, individual cultural contributions to the nation.
    a. Phillis Wheatley wrote not as a Negro but as a Boston intellectual in the classical mode.
    b. Benjamin Banneder was one of the greatest scientists in America during the last quarter of the 18th century.
        1) His Almanac is ranked on a par with Benjamin Franklin's.
        2) His contributions to astronomy are many.
        3) He was the chief American architect for planning the city of Washington.
        4) He was also an effective writer--his lambasting of Jefferson's hypocrisy is a case-in-point.

2. In the light of this afterglow, many Americans even in the South predicted the peaceful end of slavery in America.

V. THE TRAGIC FAILURE OF AMERICA: BY THE END OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY, WHITE ATTITUDES TOWARD THE BLACKS BEGAN TO CHANGE.

A. There was a Conservative reaction following the revolution.

B. The drastic increase in the number of free Negroes proved shocking to many.

C. There was a mild increase of competition for jobs.

D. Two large scale slave conspiracies shocked the South.

1. The Haiti Uprising of 1791 was massive and bloody.

2. Gabriel Prosser's conspiracy in Virginia was a shocker to those who imagined that the Haiti Uprising could not happen in America.

Unit # 3

The American Revolutionary Era

E. The invention of the cotton gin in 1793 along with Britain's increasing demand for large scale amounts of southern cotton made slavery far more profitable.

F. The American frontiersmen resented black competition for free land.

G. The tragic failure of the Christian Church and the American forefathers to combat the trend toward racial separation.

Unit 4

THE COTTON CURTAIN, CIRCA 1800 - 1850

Unit # 4: The Cotton Curtain, circa 1800 - 1850

AN OVERVIEW

The title of this unit was selected deliberately to rivet attention to the view that, in terms of American blacks, American treatment of its slave population in the first half of the nineteenth century is comparable, in many ways, to the Soviet treatment of its captive satellite population in the years following World War II. This interpretation should serve as a good introduction to the unit, but the teacher should encourage students to reject the view if they find it unfair to the American nation.

One of the major aspects of this long period of American history is the political and social isolation of the slave population in the South. This led to the evolution of cultural attitudes among southern blacks that diverged considerably from those held by whites, rich or poor. These should be analyzed in considerable detail. America is still paying the sociological consequences of this cultural divergency in our own day and age.

In the face of white oppression, slave resistance manifested itself and became a hallmark of American slavery. This is not commonly understood by many whites today who often pose the question: 'Why didn't Negroes resist more than they did?"

Resistance assumed two basic forms. One was passive resistance of individual slaves who assumed characteristics of sloth, folly and general stupidity which caused most slave owners to expect much less work from slaves than they might otherwise have demanded. This stance became a way of life to generations of slaves. The impact of this outlook upon the 20th century black is still having wide-spread sociological consequences for the nation.

More dangerous and more feared was the periodic outbreak of a massive slave uprising every decade or two in America. As blacks slit white throats, a conscriction of fear haunted the whites in the south. Many of the pathological racial "hang ups" that still disturb many southerners today have their roots in this era.

It should not be surprising that the slave states developed "police state" methods designed to crush active resistance among the black population. Consequently, even areas of the south where few blacks lived, democratic life was stunted. This, too, is still influencing our own age. It may not be an exaggeration to conclude that southerners are living in the shadow of the "cotton curtain" just as the captive people of eastern Europe are living in the shadow of the "iron curtain."

Unit # 4

The Cotton Curtain, circa 1800 - 1850

I. THE "COTTON CURTAIN" AND THE "IRON CURTAIN" COMPARED.

   A. In each case millions of subjects were unwillingly enslaved to despotic dictates of a small but nearly all-powerful ruling class.

   B. The enslaved millions were systematically denied all the basic human rights associated with a free society.

   C. Massive use of force is used to prevent the enslaved from seeking a redress.

   D. Massive censorship is utilized to keep the enslaved cut off from the outside world.

   E. The enslaved class is not allowed to travel.

   F. The enslaved class endeavored to seek freedom by running away even at great personal risk.

II. THE "COTTON CURTAIN" HAD AN ENORMOUS IMPACT UPON THE AMERICAN ATTITUDE.

   A. Due to their long period of enslavement in isolation, blacks tended to develop cultural attitudes different from whites.

      1. Family life among blacks was prohibited by law.

      2. "Fatherhood" among male blacks was prohibited by law.

      3. Vice, immorality and brutality among blacks was encouraged and institutionalized.

      4. Blacks recognized the difference between "taking" (i.e. confiscating from the white man) and "stealing" (i.e. from fellow blacks).

      5. Sexual mores of immorality, polygamy, polyrandy and studding were encouraged and rewarded.

   B. American slavery developed other unique characteristics

      1. A class system thrived
         a. professional slaves
         b. skilled labor
         c. house Negroes who developed an "identity" with their white masters
         d. the field hands

Unit # 4

The Cotton Curtain, circa 1800 - 1850

2. Slaves were permitted to establish certain religious ties.
    a. Private meetings of blacks in a church was prohibited.
    b. Church stressed certain phases of Christianity such as obedience and personal salvation.
    c. Slaves stressed, on the contrary, the Old Testament and the God of Israel.
    d. Negro spirituals, barely comprehended by whites, referred to the plight of blacks and their eventual liberation.

3. Slave resistance continued in the midst of oppression.
    a. There was constant talk and an occasional carrying out of a slave uprising.
        1) The first slave uprising occurred in 1526 in a small Spanish post in South Carolina
        2) Certainly the revolutionary era inspired more.
        3) Probably about 250 slave uprsisings did occur within the continental U.S.
        4) The life of Toussaint l'Ouverture gave great inspiration to American blacks.
            a) In some ways he resembles Napoleon
            b) His success contributed to Napoleon selling the U.S. all of Louisiana--thus enabling the U.S. eventually to have the potential to be a world power.
        5) Gabriel Prosser envisioned a Negro state in Virginia but his plans were revealed by a house slave in 1800.
        6) Denmark Vesey laid careful plans for an uprising in Charleston in the 1820s but was betrayed by another slave in 1821.
        7) Nat Turner's mystic fanaticism resulted in an initially successful uprising in Virginia in 1830.
            a) About 60 whites were murdered.
            b) Before he was caught and executed almost all whites in Virginia felt the chill of black anger.
    b. Masters were often killed "by accident" through the use of poison or by some other means.
    c. Arson frequently resulted in the "accidental burning" of houses, barns, tool sheds, crops, etc.
    d. Negro religion was used as a source of resistance.
    e. The black learned to feign certain "inferior characteristics" such as laziness, stupidity, carelessness, as a means of avoiding a direct white punishment for his sabatoge.
    f. By 1830, the "Underground Railroad" had emerged as the single most frequently used means of resistance.

4. In spite of all the racial barriers, miscegenation continued to occur during the era of the "cotton curtain."

Unit # 4

The Cotton Curtain, circa 1800 - 1850

C. The leaders of the "Cotton Curtain" developed one of the most successful and feared "police state" governments ever devised by man.

1. The U.S. Army and the State militia were on a stand-by basis, ready to repress any slave uprising.

2. Southern leaders launched a campaign to "educate" both blacks and white in the innate inferiority of the black race.
   - a. This included the classical Biblical argument about God having created two races, one white and one black.
   - b. This included the appeal to each white that, no matter how miserable or low down he was, he was still better than the most brilliant and moral black.
   - c. This campaign facilitated "poor white trash" willingness to cooperate with the white slave owners.

3. Use of "Nigger breakers" might be compared to use of sadistic guards in the Nazi concentration camps.

4. Recalitrant blacks who continued to resist were sold down the river to the deep South.

5. Specific punishments for disobedient blacks were an accepted part of the legal code--this included whippings, beatings, branding, torture.

6. Blacks were forbidden to assemble.

7. All blacks in the South, slave or free, had to have a paper showing their legal status.

8. No slave was permitted to leave the plantation without a special pass.

9. Literacy was illegal--violators were subjected to the death penalty.

10. The black family had no legal status
    - a. Thus the South encouraged a matriarchial society.
    - b. Black men had no legal stature within the individual slave group and had much less likelihood of becoming political leaders.

Unit 5

RACIAL CONFLICTS LEAD TO THE CIVIL WAR
CIRCA 1820 - 1860

Unit # 5: Racial Conflicts Lead to Civil War, 1820 - 1860

AN OVERVIEW

In Unit # 4, we riveted our attention upon the South. In this unit, we must broaden our inquiry by probing racial issues affecting the North as much as the South.

Early in the epoch, many white Americans dreamed of colonization as a solution to the race problem. Never popular with blacks, colonization died amid the increasing anger generated by the dramatic rise of abolitionism after 1830.

To comprehend the full imact of abolitionism, one must study the plethora of outstanding abolitionist leaders, black and white, who dominated much of the politics of the age. The work of these individuals, either as literary propagandists, as militant orators or as revolutionary agents must be analyzed in considerable depth.

The abolitionists, never more than a vocal minority, played a role far in excess of their numbers. Ironically, as their agitation increased, there was a corresponding increase of anger felt by a majority of whites in the North against the free Negro. This is a significant turn of events and must be stressed. Needless to say, southern fears against the abolitionists increased dramatically and this trend plays a key role in the secessionist movement during the 1840s and 1850s.

Thus it can be observed that another great paradox dominates American history. The abolitionists generate such ill feelings that northern and southern whites are at loggerheads with each other. Some prefer disunion to continued compromise. At the same time, white frustrations against the black man in both sections dramatically increase. In the South, restrictions against slavery are tightened. In the north, the sociological "straitjacket" is also tightened. This proved to be nearly as binding upon the Negro of the North as the legal chains of slavery were upon the Negro of the South.

Unit # 5

Racial Conflicts Lead to the Civil War, circa 1820 - 1860

I. THE MISSOURI COMPROMISE SOUNDED AS THE "FIREBELL IN THE NIGHT."

- A. Prior to 1820, our forefathers had "glossed over" the issue of slavery.
- B. The Compromise was the first open and legal recognition that Americans did not know how to resolve the problems.

II. COLONIZATION SOCIETIES INCREASED IN IMPORTANCE AFTER 1820.

- A. Supporters of colonization accepted the idea that there was no solution to be found in America.
- B. The majority of blacks rejected colonization.

III. THE ABOLITIONIST CRUSADE BECAME A DOMINANT POLITICAL ISSUE IN AMERICA AFTER 1830.

- A. The Abolitionist movement got considerable support from a radical white minority in the first decade after the founding of the Liberator.
  1. William Lloyd Garrison founded the militant Liberator in 1830.
  2. Quakers added considerable strength to the Abolitionist cause.
     - a. The Grimke sisters
     - b. Theodore Dwight Weld
     - c. Lucretia Mott
  3. Levi Coffin first organized the "Underground Railroad."
- B. Five blacks contributed much to the early rise of abolitionism, 1830-1840.
  1. Samuel E. Cornish was a Presbyterian Minister who worked closely with the Freedom's Journal.
  2. John B. Russworm was a co-founder of Freedom's Journal, the first negro newspaper in America.
  3. John Allen, an AME bishop, headed the first Negro Convention in America--Philadelphia, 1830.
  4. James Forter, an aging American Revolutionary War veteran, helped finance Garrison's newspaper when it was in serious financial difficulty.
  5. David Walker, sometimes called "the John the Baptist" of the abolitionist crusade, published Walker's Appeal, an inflammatory pamphlet which helped to focus attention on the new movement.

Unit # 5

Racial Conflicts Lead to the Civil War, circa 1820 - 1860

C. During the first decade of Abolitionism, grew the "Underground railroad."

    1. In the 30 years prior to the Civil War, it helped thousands (40,000-100,000) of slaves to escape.

    2. Both black and white races contributed to the success.

IV IN THE PRE CIVIL WAR GENERATION, THE ABOLITIONIST CRUSADE PRODUCED A SERIES OF "GIANTS."

A. The Abolitionists were divided into two philosophical schools of thought.

    1. The "Massachusetts Garrisonians" were militant in writing but preferred "passive resistance" and "moral force" to direct political action.

    2. The other group favored "ballots, if possible, bullets if necessary."

B. Some of the major Giants tended to dominate the politics of the age.

    1. Frederick Douglass
    2. Charles Lenox Richmond
    3. Samuel Ringgold Ward
    4. Sojourner Truth
    5. Henry Highland Garnet
    6. Harriet Tubman
    7. Prudence Crandall
    8. Martin R. Delaney
    9. Ralph Waldo Emerson
    10. John Greenleaf Whittier
    11. John Brown
    12. Harriet Beecher Stowe

Unit # 5

Racial Conflicts Lead to the Civil War, circa 1820 - 1860

V. AS ABOLITIONIST AGITATION INCREASED SO DID HOSTILITY AGAINST ABOLITIONISTS AND FREE NEGROES.

A. Abolitionist extremism in politics was not supported by the "Anti-Slave" groups.

1. The essential difference between the two groups centered on the question of "morality vs. expediency."

2. Several leading "anti-slavery" politicians emerged who voiced their opposition to abolitionism.
   a. Daniel Webster
   b. Henry Clay
   c. Stephen Douglas
   d. Abraham Lincoln

B. Nominally free, the northern Negro had always been subjected to various restrictions even before abolitionism became unpopular.

1. Residential restrictions gave rise to the first recognizeable "ghetto" based on race.

2. Legal restrictions included denial of the right to vote, to serve on juries and to own property in many areas.

3. Economic restrictions made it difficult for the black man to get the more uplifting jobs.

C. After 1840, these restrictions were more stringently enforced.

D. By 1850, one could conclude that the free Negro of the North lived "behind the 'white curtain'."

1. Denied most of the essential civil rights, the free Negroes were politically dependent upon white generosity.

2. Socially, the free Negores were ostracized in the land of their birth.

3. Economically, the free Negroes seldom could aspire to more than a spartan existence.

4. Psychologically, the free Negroes lived--at best--in a state of confusion and fear; and--at worst--in a state of terror.

Unit 6

THE CIVIL WAR:
A "DOWN PAYMENT" FOR THE PRICE OF SLAVERY

Unit # 6: The Civil War: A "Down Payment" for the Price of Slavery

AN OVERVIEW

Historians have long debated the causes of the Civil War. At one time, it was the fashion to argue that slavery had little do to with the conflict.

In the previous unit, it was submitted that slavery was a primary factor. In this unit, it is contended that the black man played a dominant role in the progress of the Civil War. This is so even though he did not have power.

Initially, the Union government sought not to recognize the importance of the black man and sought to avoid black participation. Many factors contributed to this attitude. They should be considered. This leads us to an important concept. It is imperative to probe the mind of Lincoln at this stage of the war. He symbolizes the large mass of northern whites who, while they do not hate the black man, do not regard the Negro as their equal. Many Lincoln letters and speeches reveal these beliefs.

As the fury of the war mounted and as the blood-letting increased, old beliefs were forced to give way to practical necessity. Lincoln may have preferred to save the Union without black support but he was arriving at the conclusion that black support was required.

Following the Emancipation Proclamation, the war approached being a crusade. American Negroes flocked to the colors. Thousands of slaves fled to sanctuary behind the Union lines and thousands more joined the armed services. Many Negro regiments were created. Their blood sacrifice had an enormous impact upon the President who was making an historic decision: namely that some black men--Union veterans--were probably worthy of citizenship.

Following the surrender of Lee, the American Negro celebrated the "day of Jubilee." He believed in the Union and trusted it to do justice.

Unit #6

The Civil War: A "Down Payment" for the Price of Slavery

I. AS IN THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION, THE INITIAL REACTION OF THE WHITE GOVERNMENT WAS TO RESIST BLACK PARTICIPATION IN THE STRUGGLE.

A. Several factors contributed to this negative response.

1. Politically, Lincoln feared to antagonize the "border states."

2. Socially, the majority of whites in the North could or would not recognize the fact that the black man had a major stake in the outcome.

B. As a result of this attitude, the Lincoln administration--in the first year of the war--adopted policies detrimental to the black race.

1. Blacks were not allowed to volunteer for military service.

2. Runaway slaves were returned to their masters.

3. Lincoln directed local cammanders to desist from supporting so-called "little Emancipation Proclamations."

II. THE NEGRO--BOTH AS A SOLDIER AND AS A CIVILIAN--BECAME A CENTRAL ISSUE OF THE CIVIL WAR.

A. "Political Generals"kept agitating for a change of administration policy.

1. John C. Fremont in Missouri was ordered to repeal his "emancipation."

2. Ben Butler was the first to publicly dub runaway slaves as "contraband" and to accept Negro participation as soldiers.

3. David ("Black David")Hunter organized the First South Carolina Volunteers.

4. Jim Lane organized the First Kansas "Colored" Volunteers.

B. As the fury of the war increased, Lincoln slowly began to change his mind.

1. Lincoln's views had been "moderately racist" prior to 1861.

2. Several factors contributed to Lincoln's changing attitude.
   a. The rising casualty list dramatized the need for more manpower.
   b. The successes of the Negro volunteer groups convinced Lincoln that the black man was capable of fighting.
   c. Abolitionist sentiment in the North gained wider support as anger against the South mounted.
   d. The threat of foreign intervention could be stopped "with the stroke of a pen."

The Civil War: A "Down Payment" for the Price of Slavery

3. The Emancipation Proclamation was promulgated on January 1, 1863.
    a. Not a single slave was freed on the first day.
    b. In spite of its "luke warm" embracement of liberation, the Emancipation transformed the Civil War into a near "holy crusade."
        1) This galvanized public opinion in the North in favor of the nobler aspects of the war.
        2) It virtually sealed the fate of the South by insuring that Britian and France would not intervene in favor of the South.
        3) It stirred slaves in the South, many thousands of whom opted for freedom by running away from their masters.
        4) It encouraged thousands of blacks to join the Union Army.

C. Negroes made a positive military contribution to the Union victory.

1. By the end of 1863, more than 50,000 blacks (the majority of whom had been slaves) had enlisted in the army.

2. During the last two years of the war, black regiments participated in many bloody engagements.

3. By the end of the war, the death rate of black soldiers totalled about 38,000.

D. At the end of the war, the American Negro entertained high hopes that the day of Jubilee had at long last arrived for his race.

Unit 7

THE RECONSTRUCTION ERA, 1865 - 1877

Unit # 7: The Reconstruction Era, 1865 - 1877

AN OVERVIEW

The Reconstruction Era was depicted by the revisionist school of history as a tragic time in which the semi-savage ex-slave proved himself still unworthy of self-government. Black historians contend that the southern states were given, during this epoch, the most democratic form of government they ever enjoyed. The truth probably lies closer to the latter view than to the former. Be that as it may, the teacher should offer the students the opportunity to arrive at their own conclusions.

Most Americans are familar with the Radical Republicans and their struggle with a stubborn southerner who became President by accident. Radical motives must be considered. Some are more worthy than others.

In addition, one should place much emphasis on the "reconstructed governments" of the South. They have often been criticized for their corruption and much corruption there was. This must be considered, however, in respect to the times. One cannot offer a final evaluation of these governments without comparing their corruption to that which existed at the same time in the U.S. federal government which was entirely free of "Negro influence." The reconstruction governments should also be compared to the "all white" post-reconstruction governments. It is highly doubtful if the latter are much better than the former.

In addition to this negative note, the positive accomplishments of the reconstruction governments must be analyzed. Much useful legislation was passed. The new laws were as beneficial to poor whites as to former slaves.

One can also evaluate the reconstruction era through a study of the individual blacks who rose to prominance either at the local, state or federal level. Some of these men overcame great barriers and considerable terror in order to achieve what they did.

The chief advocate of terror in these years was the Ku Klux Klan. Its goals and methods should be stressed. It would seem interesting (and perhaps valid) to compare the goals and methods of the Ku Klux Klan to a militant black organization today.

Finally, one must terminate the study of the epoch by probing the factors causing the Republican Party to abandon the Negro as a result of the Compromise of 1877. Key political, economic and social factor are involved. The lessons of this abandonment have not been lost upon militant blacks today. This is without doubt a major factor explaining their distrust of "white liberals" in the 1960s and 1970s.

Unit # 7: The Reconstruction Era (1865 - 1877)

I. THE BURDEN OF BLACK LIBERATION HAD AN ENORMOUS PSYCHOLOGICAL IMPACT UPON THE NATION

A. Initially, most whites still hoped to "solve" the problem by encouraging a "back to Africa" movement.

B. If the Negro were to remain permanently in America, then the main problem would revolve about "what to do" with the Negro.

1. The "do nothing" school was led by Frederick Douglass.

2. The "white supremacy" reactionary school envisioned indirect means to rid the South of the black.

3. The "white radical" attitude was led by Charles Sumner and Thaddeus Stevens.

4. The majority of the moderate whites favored a "go-slow" policy as formulated by the Freedman's Bureau.

C. The majority of the newly freed black slaves were psychologically and sociologically upprepared for their liberation.

II. THE LINCOLN-JOHNSON PLAN OF RECONSTRUCTION WAS INITIALLY ADOPTED.

A. Southern states were restored under white control.

B. The "restored" Southern States passed a series of "black codes" which reduced the black back to the ranks of near-slavery.

III. SOUTHERN INTRANSIGENCE HELPED THE NORTHERN WHITE RADICALS TO GAIN POWER.

A. Four factors contributed to their wrestling control of the government.

1. Many in the north felt a sincere humanitarian compassion for the plight of the blacks.

2. Many Republicans hoped to perpetuate Republican control of federal governments with blacks as the power base in the South.

3. Many in the north felt a patriotic resentment of the restored States sending ex-Confederates to office.

4. The personal committment of Stevens and Sumner bordered on fanaticism.

B. The radicals used several classic techniques to seize control.

C. Much useful legislation was passed during the next several years.

  1. The Reconstruction Act of 1866.

  2. The 14th Amendment

  3. The 15th Amendment

  4. The Civil Rights Act of 1875

IV. RADICAL RECONSTRUCTION HAD A GREAT IMPACT UPON SOUTHERN LIFE

A. The Union Army was regarded as "the enemy."

B. The "carpetbagger" governments had many blacks in high office who were both hated and feared by the white southerners.

C. The Ku Klux Klan was organized as the "defender" of southern virtue against Yankees, scalywags and blacks.

  1. The Ku Klux Klan emphasized the essential wickedness of black and increased racial animosities.

  2. The Ku Klux Klan utilized a form of "guerrilla warfare" and a "reign of terror" to harass blacks and to discourage their white supporters.

D. The "reconstructed" state governments did pass much useful social legislation.

E. There was a considerable degree of curruption among the leaders of the reconstruction governments as was generally the case among the north also.

F. Many outstanding black leaders did appear but most were gradually eliminated, directly or indirectly, by the K.K.K.

V. THE COMPROMISE OF 1877 ENDED THE RECONSTRUCTION ERA

A. The election of 1876 was extremely close with disputed electoral votes to decide the victor between the Republican, Hayes, and the Democrat, Tilden.

B. To avoid the real threat of a second Civil War, an important compromise was arranged.

  1. The South made two important concessions to the Republicans.
    a. All the disputed electoral votes were to be cast for Hayes
    b. The southern Democrats pledged to push for economic policies urgently favored by the rising industrial classes of the North.

2. The Republicans made four important concessions to the South.
    a. All remaining Yankee troops were to be withdrawn
    b. "Home Rule", meaning "white supremacy" governments were to be permitted.
    c. The Negro problem was to be handled strictly by the States
    d. The Republican administration would accept white Democratic postmasters in the southern States

C. Having no power, the black learned that he could not permanently rely on Republican support as the Party had pledged.

Unit 8

THE BIRTH OF JIM CROW, 1877 - 1901

Unit #8: The Birth of Jim Crow, 1877 - 1901

AN OVERVIEW

The last quarter of the 19th century witnessed the destruction of nearly all the gains won by Negroes during Reconstruction. Much emphasis must be placed in an analysis of the forces--political, economic, social--which led to the acceptance of a Jim Crow rationale, not only by most whites, North and South, but also by a majority of blacks! This is the age of imperialism and the "white man's burden." Even the Christian church is preaching such dogma. Small wonder, then, that an educated Negro such as Booker T. Washington promulgates the "Atlanta Compromise" in which white supremacy is more or less conceded. In return, all the Negro wants is an equal opportunity to earn his living.

Since both races in America accepted the Jim Crow logic, it should not be surprising that the white controlled southern states began to pass a whole series of new laws which legalized a "separate but equal" concept which became the virtual law of the land for the next 60 years. These laws and their acceptance had an enormous impact upon Americans in all sections of the country, not just the South.

One might well conclude a study of this unit by asking the question: "How could America, a nation claiming to be democratic, subscribe to principles of Jim Crow without feeling much remorse or guilt?"

Unit # 8: THE BIRTH OF JIM CROW (1877 - 1901)

I. THE NAME "JIM CROW" HAD DIFFERENT MEANINGS DURING DIFFERENT PERIODS OF TIME.

II. SEVERAL FACTORS CONTRIBUTED TO THE ACCEPTANCE OF THE NEW FORM OF JIM CROW AFTER THE COMPROMISE OF 1877.

A. World opinion in the last quarter of the 19th century was much less sympathic to the "brotherhood of man."

1. The "white man's burden" concept was popular among most western political leaders.

2. The race for colonies perpetuated beliefs in white superiority.

B. American public opinion had soured vis-a-vis Civil Rights.

C. The U.S. Supreme Court made decisions detrimental to the black race.

1. In 1883, the Civil Rights Act of 1875 was ruled unconstitutional.

2. In 1896, the historic Plessy v. Fergusen decision resulted in the mass acceptance of "separate but equal" as a point of law.

3. The court interpreted the 14th Amendment in such a way as to protect corporations and not blacks.

D. The submission of Booker T. Washington.

1. In 1895, he deliverd his famous "Atlanta Compromise" speech.

2. Washington's appeal for black acceptance of white political superiority had several important consequences.
a. He received considerable white support, both political and financial.
b. He became a major leader of the American Negro intellectual world until his death in 1915.
c. He represented black approval of Jim Crow and 2nd class citizenship.
d. He left the black even more impotent and isolated than ever before.

III. AS A RESULT OF THESE CHANGING ATTITUDES, SOUTHERN STATES BEGAN PASSING A SERIES OF LAWS DESIGNED TO PERPETUATE THE SEPARATION AND ISOLATION OF THE AMERICAN NEGRO.

IV. JIM CROW HAD AN ENORMOUS IMPACT ON THE AMERICAN WAY OF LIFE.

A. There was a tendency to confuse legend with history.

1. These laws became so widely accepted, that most white Americans could not or would not recognize their recent origins.

   2. We continued to call ourselves the "land of the free" when we were building the most massive form of repression based on race ever known to mankind save for Nazi Germany and South Africa today.

   3. Americans continued to refer to their nation as the "great melting pot" while striving urgently to avoid mixing with black race.

B. Blacks were eliminated as a political force in the U.S.

C. Most of their leaders having renounced equality, the blacks sank deeper and deeper into economic misery as well as political oblivion.

D. "Red Neck" politics became a way of life in the South.

E. Accepting the plight of the blacks, the majority of white southerners paid the price by their also having a standard of living far lower than their white counterparts in other sections of the country.

F. The first of the migrations to the industrial cities of the North began during this age though not nearly so massive as in later years.

G. Psychologically, most American blacks were conditioned to a sense of shame in being black, accepting their inferiority.

H. New music forms such as jazz and the blues began to emerge in this era.

Unit 9

AN AGE OF DESPAIR (1895 - 1939)

Unit # 9: An Age of Despair (1895 - 1939)

AN OVERVIEW

During this era, the aspirations of the American Negro reached their nadir. The first 20 years of this epoch were dominated by Booker T. Washington. Gradually, more radical leaders began to question and to challenge his teachings. This contrast of leadership--the submissive and passive Washington on the one hand and the raucus and saucy self confidence of a William Trotter or a W.E.B. Du Bois on the other--makes for a fascinating contrast and should be studied at some length. Out of this struggle the first of many civil rights organizations was born--the N.A.A.C.P. Many others were to follow in the 20th century. Starved for funds and dependent largely on white support, these civil rights groups timidly began to assault Jim Crow concepts with very few results during the first two decades of the 20th century.

Negro despair probably reached its lowest depths during the First World War. Galvanized by the rhetoric of a Woodrow Wilson, blacks enlisted by the scores of thousands. Black military exploits during the war can only be categorized as one of the least glamorous phases of Negro history. Totally segregated and relegated primarily to mundane tasks, the Negro soldier was dispised by most whites. Lynchings increased during the war as a result of racial tensions having been accentuated by the pressures of war. Remembered by most whites for his idealism, Wilson is recalled by most blacks as a hypocrite. It should be noted that segregation in federal jobs was intensified by President Wilson whose attitude toward blacks can only be described as "bigoted." One might well pose the question: "Why did Wilson plead so eloquently for others to practice 'self determination of peoples' while ignoring this principle for American blacks?"

Negroes made limited economic gains during the 1920s but compared to their white countrymen, slipped further on the economic ladder. This was also the age of the "Negro Renaissance." Black authors were widely read by white intellectuals. But it was in the field of music that America finally gave due recognition to her black children. There was a boom in jazz, blues and swing. A myriad of recordings are available. The teacher could spend many days, even weeks, in a "music appreciation" type presentation.

Badly hit by the depression, Negro hopes were slowly re-kindled by Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal. Sensing at least a modest amount of federal support, the NAACP launched a new series of suits which were to result in much success in the 1950s. But the greatest aid to the black cause in America was to come from an unexpected source--a mad man living in Germany.

Unit # 9

An Age of Despair, circa 1895-1939

I. THE PROGRESSIVE ERA, 1895-1920, BROUGHT MANY CHANGES TO AMERICA, RESULTING IN GREAT PROGRESS FOR WHITES BUT LIMITED PROGRESS FOR BLACKS

  A. The era of Booker T. Washington, 1895-1915, crystallized the institution of Jim Crow in America.

    1. Washington practically ruled over black America.

    2. Washington's policies could best be described as "conservative."
      a. He stressed racial reconciliation.
      b. He encouraged black submission to white political control.
      c. He was careful never to offend white southern opinion.

    3. Washington's domination is a fascinating study of ironies.
      a. He accepted white southern prejudices but had access to high political circles in the North that were closed to most whites.
      b. He was allowed to violate Jim Crow laws.
      c. While advising blacks to shun political power, he wielded more political power than practically any black in American history.
      d. While remaining a spokesman for the poor he amassed a modest fortune.

  B. Washington's leadership was challenged by two militants.

    1. William M. Trotter denounced Washington as a "traitor" in his militant newspaper the Guardian.

    2. William E.B. Du Bois forsook moderation when he published Souls of Black Folk in 1903.
      a. Du Bois stressed the need for action, not just talk.
      b. He preached the urgency of educating the "talented tenth" to lead blacks out of their inferior status.
      c. He reminded white liberals that only the black man himself could gain his self respect.

  C. Out of this conflict a number of "Civil Rights" groups were born.

    1. The Niagra Movement lead to the creation of the N.A.A.C.P.

    2. The N.A.A.C.P. was created in 1909.
      a. It was dominated by white liberals.
      b. Du Bois, however, became an important black leader.
      c. The N.A.A.C.P. enjoyed a small degree of success in attacking the legal foundations of Jim Crow.

Unit # 9

An Age of Despair, circa 1895 - 1939

3. The National Urban League was founded in 1910 to help black people solved social problems arising out of ghetto life.

4. The National Equal Rights League was the most militant of the early Civil Rights groups.
    a. The League denied admittance to whites.
    b. It rejected all compromise in its battle for the immediate integration of all facets of American life.

5. As Civil Rights groups gained some influence so was there an increase of influence of black journals.

D. The Progressive Era was brought to an end by World War I.

1. This war was a great national humiliation for the black race.
    a. Several factors contributed to the hostility of whites.
    b. The military record on race relations in the war was poor.
    c. Open and undisguised racial insults in the war resulted in more racial conflicts in America.
        1) Insubordination and bad conduct among black soldiers were higher than among white soldiers.
        2) Several bloody race riots occurred during and immediately after World War I.
        3) The lynching rate of blacks increased, 1917-1920.

II. THE "GOLDEN TWENTIES" ARE MORE FONDLY REMEMBERED BY WHITES THAN BLACKS AS THE "GOOD OLD DAYS."

A. Black pessimism was reflected in the intellectual pronouncements of new black leaders.

1. Asa Philip Randolph charged the Wilson administration with hypocrisy.

2. Claude McKay's poetry reflects a strong note of bitter despair.

3. Marcus M. Garvey's "black nationalism" pressaged the militant philosophy of black Muslim groups today.

B. The Golden Twenties produced the "Negro Renaissance."

1. This was the time of tremendous intellectual achievement of blacks in art, music and literature.

2. It was also the time of considerable white acceptance of Negro culture.

Unit # 9

An Age of Despair, circa 1895 - 1939

III. THE DEPRESSION RESULTED IN GREAT PRIVATIONS FOR MILLIONS OF WHITE AMERICANS AND NEAR TOTAL DISASTER FOR MOST BLACK AMERICANS.

A. Blacks suffered the greatest economic loss of the depression era.

1. In the field of unemployment, the slogan of the ghetto was "The Negro, Last Hired and First Fired."

2. A far greater percentage of blacks were on relief than whites.

3. Black businessmen were nearly eliminated as a class.

4. A new flood of migrants from the South,white and black, poured into American cities and into the West.

B. In spite of these economic burdens blacks made important contributions to American culture.

1. The age of "swing."

2. Sports heroes.

C. Politically, blacks were beginning to get organized.

1. Ghetto areas occasionally elected black representatives to Congress.

2. Roosevelt's New Deal deliberately courted black support and favor.
   a. The "black cabinet" of FDR.
   b. The New Deal helped improve the economic misery of millions of blacks.
   c. Most blacks finally desert the party of Lincoln.

D. The NAACP became a more viable legal tool during the 1930s.

1. The Charles Garland gift made the NAACP financially able for the first time in its history.

2. The new leadership was instrumental in the change.
   a. Walter White became the first black Executive Director in 1930.
   b. Charles Houston became the Chief Legal Consul: "Negro lawyers should be social engineers."
   c. Thurgood Marshall was hired to prosecute specific cases.

3. By the end of the 1930s, the NAACP had emerged as the undisputed leader in Civil Rights but in spite of limited successes, Jim Crow still dominated American racial patterns when the ominous shadow of Nordic white supremacy forced World War II upon the world scene.

Unit 10

THE RISE OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT IN AMERICA SINCE WORLD WAR II

Unit # 10: The Rise of the Civil Rights Movement in America Since World War II

AN OVERVIEW

It is ironic that the German Nazis struck the greatest blow ever made for Civil Rights in America. Representing the epitome of the most grotesque features of "white racism," Nazi ideas were roundly condemned by nearly all peoples of the globe. An analysis of Nazi ideas and their origins is the proper way to introduce this unit.

American war aims were nobly idealistic. They should be evaluated and compared to American treatment of her own minority populations. The gap between professed principles and practice should be evident.

Contrary to World War I, black leaders in America demanded some concessions from their government before agreeing to support the war effort to "make the world safe for democracy." In this matter, A. Philips Randolph was the key figure. His dealings with President Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1941 make for a fascinating study. That he achieved some meaningful concessions cannot be denied.

Another interesting feature of American racism during World War II is the handling of the "Japanese problem." Students should compare American treatment of German aliens in 1941-1942 to American treatment of Japanese aliens and Japanese citizens.

The Nuremburg War Crimes trials are closely associated to this unit. In this connection, the class should be introduced to the martyred German, Dietrich Bonhoeffer. His ideas about militant Christianity and the need of each individual to stress his loyalty to humanity as opposed to nation are extremely relevant. Quite clearly, his spirit dominates the conclusions made at Nuremburg which in turn permeates the thinking of many of the leaders of the Civil Rights movement in America during the post war era.

Starting with the historic Supreme Court decision of 1954, the Civil Rights movement became much more militant. The political, social and economic forces contributing to this new attitude should be stressed. As the Civil Rights movement picks up steam, key individuals emerge. Their teachings and activities can be studied in their own writings and also by analyzing current news stories in newspapers and magazines. Several records exist which contain the voice recordings of the leaders involved. The full impact of the impassioned oratory of a Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. can be felt by listening to the recorded voice of Dr. King.

Since the mid-1950s a series of new federal laws and agencies have been created. These stand as a positive achievement and should be studied and understood. Tragically, during the same time, a series of race riots have occurred in various city ghettoes. It would be strongly adviseable for the class to probe the lengthy analysis of riots in the Presidential Commission on Race Riots which is available in paperback form at modest cost. While not condoning violence, we must seek to comprehend why so many of the nation's blacks, especially the youth, are willing to resort to violence. The above cited work does much to answer this question.

Unit # 10: The Rise of the Civil Rights Movement in America Since World War II

Ideally, representatives of local minority community groups should be encouraged to speak to the class. Exchanges with students of black or brown schools would also be appropriate. The essential problem of today is that our WASPish students are essentially isolated from meaningful contacts with members of the minority community. Dialogue is a small, but essential, tiny first step toward bridging the gap of misunderstanding.

Another bridge to better understanding is humor. It is urgently recommended that recordings of such comics as Dick Gregory, Flip Wilson, Bill Cosby and others be utilized from time to time. In dealing with such emotional and complex problems, we sometimes stir latent passions. By being able to laugh about some of these problems, we may be able to reduce some of the tensions that arise when we discuss them.

Unit # 10

The Rise of the Civil Rights Movement in America since World War II

I. WORLD WAR II HAD A PROFOUND IMPACT UPON THE AMERICAN ATTITUDE TOWARD RACE.

- A. The Nazis epitomized the most brutal phase of "white racism."
  - 1. Nazism evolved out of historical prejudices long existing in Germany.
  - 2. The Nazis came to power during a time of economic and social chaos.
  - 3. Nazi policies made World War II inevitable.
- B. American War aims were extremely noble.
  - 1. The U.S. Government embraces such humanitarian concepts as the "Atlantic Charter," the Four Freedoms," and the ideals of the United Nations.
  - 2. Black Americans tended to be extremely suspicious of the professed noble war aims.
    - a. Philip Randolph led the black demand for white concessions.
    - b. In order to avert a massive black march on Washington, President F.D. Roosevelt issued Executive Order No. 8802 on June 25, 1941, which banned racial discrimination in war industries and in apprenticeship programs associated to war industries.
- C. American racial practices in World War II often conflicted with the ideas for which we professed to be fighting.
  - 1. The U.S. treatment of German aliens contrasted markedly with our treatment of Japanesee aliens.
  - 2. The American military continued to follow the traditional attitudes toward the black soldier.
    - a. Blacks initially were not allowed into Marine and many navy units.
    - b. Blacks were not permitted to serve in integrated units.
    - c. Black units were not expected or trained to fight.
    - d. Blacks were relegated to the usual menial tasks--stevadores, garbage detail, cooks, waiters, etc.
- D. American blacks on the home front seized upon the pressures of war to fight for more concessions from the white controlled government.
  - 1. The Fair Employment Practices Board was created in June, 1941, to protect the ideals of Executive Order 8802.

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2. C.O.R.E. was created in 1943.
    a. It organized the first "sit in" in U.S. history--against a restaurant in the Chicago Loop which refused to serve black soldiers.
    b. It became one of the leading Civil Rights groups by the end of the war.

3. The Negro Press dramatized racial injustices.
    a. One of the most successful black publishers in the war was John Johnson.
    b. In 1942-1943, he founded three black publications: Negro Digest, Ebony, and Jet.

4. World War II also resulted in several massive bloody race riots in various industrial cities of the North.
    a. Hundreds of thousands of blacks workers were pouring into such cities as Chicago, Detroit, New York, San Francisco, Los Angeles, etc.
    b. These masses of blacks placed great strain on whites who feared their presence.
    c. As blacks purchasing power increased they found white intolerance more and more objectionable.

E. The Nuremburg War Crimes Trials stand as an important turning point in the history of man.

1. These trials resulted in some important new principles of international law.

2. These new principles specifically condemn as "immoral" the overt practicing of racism.

II. THE IMMEDIATE POST WAR ERA INAUGURATED A SLOW TRANSFORMATION OF ATTITUDES: 1945-1954

A. President Truman's historic decision to desegregate the armed forces.

1. This was an outgrowth of the Nuremburg trials.

2. His decision created many "shock waves" of resistance.

B. The increasing popularity of the "Dixiecrats" was an outward manifestation of the white "blacklash."

C. The Korean War resulted in limited success for the supporters of integration of the military.

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III. THE 1954 TO 1970 ERA WITNESSED THE RISE OF A "NEW MILITANCY" AMONG THE BLACK LEADERSHIP

A. Many factors contributed to this new militancy.

1. The phenomonon of "rising expectation."

2. The growing awareness of the contradiction between affluence and poverty.

3. The "generation gap" of both ghetto and suburban areas.

4. World War II generated idealism.

B. A myriad of new leaders symbolized the changing attitudes of America's black community.

1. Philip Randolph and organized labor.

2. Adam Clayton Powell and political militancy.

3. Thurgood Marshall in the legal field.

4. Roy Wilkins and the N.A.A.C.P.

5. Dr. Martin Luther King and the S.C.L.C.

6. James Farmer and Floyd McKissick in C.O.R.E.

7. Stokely Carmichael and the S.N.C.C.

8. Elijah Muhammad and Malcolm X in the Black Muslims.

9. Elridge Cleaver and Bobby Seale represent the Black Panthers.

10. Whitney Young and the National Urban League

C. Black militancy has produced many good results.

1. The Supreme Court has made many decisions contributing to the phenomonon of "rising expectations."

2. The Congress has passed much useful legislation.
   a. The Civil Rights Act of 1957
   b. The Civil Rights Act of 1960
   c. The Civil Rights Act of 1964
   d. The Voting Rights Act of 1965

3. Presidents Kennedy and Johnson spent much of the prestige of the Presidency in support of the Civil Rights Movement.

D. Militancy has produced many bad results.

1. Racial awareness has been intensified.

2. The urban crisis has been intensified.

3. The "white backlash" has been intensified.

IV. CONCLUSIONS

A. What are the alternatives?

B. What can we do as individuals ?

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The following bibliography is not a definitive one. It does, however, contain a sufficient number and variety of references to enable any teacher seriously involved in Black studies research to prepare himself. At the same time, it offers any instructor the opportunity to challenge highly motivated and/or honors students with many meaningful readings.

The bibliography is divided into four sections. In the first, are listed general topics ~~titles~~ that cover broad phases of Black history. In the second, are cited works specifically applicable to the ten units of study referred to elsewhere in this presentation. In the third, is located a bibliography of bibliographies, most of which can be purchased at small cost. In the final section is an informal bibliography or records and film strips which have been used experimentally in the 1969-70 school year and which can provide meaningful and enriching experiences for students involved in Afro-American history.

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Fisher, Miles M. *Negro Slave Songs in the United States.* Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1953.
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Genovese, Eugene D. *The Political Economy of Slavery.* New York: McGraw-Hill, 1965.
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Stamp, Kenneth. *The Peculiar Institution*. New York: Knopf, 1956.
In this exhaustive study of slavery, Stamp takes sharp issue with Phillips on many points.

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A fictionalized account of the Nat Turner uprising with many psychological overtones. This work has been both highly praised and bitterly condemned.

Turner, Frederick J. *Rise of the New West.* New York: Peter Smith, 1959.

Presents the view that western expansion in the South strengthened the development of the plantation aristocracy.

Wade, Richard C. *Slavery in the Cities: The South, 1820 - 1860.* New Jersey: Oxford University Press, 1964.

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Weinberg, Albert K. *Manifest Destiny, A Study of Nationalist Expansion in American History.* New York: Peter Smith, 1958.

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Bartlett, Irving. *Wendell Phillips, Brahmin Radical.* Boston: Beacon Press, 1961.
An important biography of a leading white abolitionist.

Buckmaster, Henrietta. *Let My People Go.* New York: Peter Smith, 1959.
A survey of the "underground railroad."

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A more recent account of the "underground railroad."

Bradford, Sarah. *Harriet Tubman, The Moses of Her People.* New York: Corinth, 1961.
A vital portrayal of a former slave who rose to a pre-eminent position in the "underground railroad."

Douglass, Frederick. *Narrative in the Life of Frederick Douglass.* Boston: A Dolphin Book, 1845.
Published at the anti-slave office in Boston, this unique "slave narrative" is remembered for the intellectual stature of the author. It was a major source for the writing of *Uncle Tom's Cabin.*

Duberman, Martin (ed.). *The Antislavery Vanguard: New Essays on the Abolitionists.* New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1965.
A scholarly interpretation of the abolitionist movement.

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Elkins, Stanley M. *The Slave Problem in American Institutional and Intellectual Life.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1959.
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Fauset, Arthur H. *Sojourner Truth, God's Faithful Pilgrim.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1938.
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Furnas, J. C. The Road to Harper's Ferry. New York: Sloan, 1959.

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Hinton, Richard J. John Brown and His Men. New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1894.

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Quarles, Benjamin. Frederick Douglass. Englewood Cliffs, N.Y.: Prentice-Hall, '68.

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Ruchames, Louis (ed.). The Abolitionists: A Collection of Their Writings. New York: Putman, 1963.

Stamp, Kenneth M. (ed.). The Causes of the Civil War. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1959.

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Tyler, Alice F. *Freedom's Ferment: Phases of American Social History to 1860.* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1944.
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Weisberger, Bernard A. (ed.). *Abolitionism: Disrupter of the Democratic System or Agent of Progress?* Chicago: Rand McNally, 1963.

Unit #6: The Civil War: A "Downpayment" for the Price of Slavery

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________. *The Negro in the Civil War*. New York: International Publishers, 1938.
A brief but significant treatment of the black soldier.

Blakiston, Harry S. "Lincoln's Emancipation Plan," *Journal of Negro History*, VII, July 1922.
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Cornish, Dudley T. *The Sable Arm: Negro Troops in the Union Army, 1861-1865*. New York: W.W. Norton, 1965.
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Douglas, William O. *Mr. Lincoln and the Negroes: The Long Road to Equality*. New York: Atheneum Publishers, 1963.
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Eaton, John. *Grant, Lincoln and the Freedman*. Westport, Connecticut: Negro University Press, 1907.

Fite, Emerson D. *Social and Industrial Conditions in the North During the Civil War*. New York: F. Ungar, 1962.
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Franklin, John Hope. *The Emancipation Proclamation*. New York: Doubleday, 1963.
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Hay, Thomas R. "The Question of Arming the Slaves," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, VI, June, 1919.
Examines one of the paradoxes confronting the South in the latter portion of the war.

Hesseltine, William B. (ed.). *The Tragic Conflict: The Civil War and Reconstruction*. New York: George Braziller, 1962.
Contains excerpts of speeches and writing of several dominant personalities of the epoch.

Higgerson, Thomas. *Army Life in a Black Regiment.* Boston: Beacon, 1962.
Observes the complications of being black in the Civil War military.

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________. *The Struggle for Equality.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1964.
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Nevins, Alan. *The Emergence of Lincoln.* New York: Scribners, 1950.

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A highly readable general treatment.

Sandburg, Carl. *Abraham Lincoln: The Prairie Years and the War Years.* New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1954.
This one volume edition of the monumental six volume work presents a colorful account of Lincoln in a realistic manner. Many quotes from Lincoln speeches and letters make manifestly clear that Lincoln, like most people in Illinois at the time, did not regard the black man as his equal.

Shannon, Fred. *The Organization and Administration of the Union Army.* 2 volumes. Cleveland, A.H. Clark, 1928.
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Reveals how Lincoln still clutched at the phantom straw of an all white America even in 1863.

________. "The Employment of Negroes as Soldiers in the Confederate Army," *Journal of Negro History,* IV, July 1919.

Wiley, Bell Irvin. *Southern Negroes, 1861 - 1825.* 2nd ed., New York: Rinehart 1953.
Treats both Union and Confederate policies with equal ability.

Wish, Harvey. "Slave Disloyalty under the Confederacy," *Journal of Negro History,* XXIII, October, 1938.

Unit #7: The Reconstruction Era (1865 - 1877)

Beale, Howard K. "On Rewriting Reconstruction History," *American Historical Review*, XLV, July 1940.
Discusses the problems involved in writing Reconstruction history in the light of the apologist view which dominated most historical writing at the turn of the 20th century.

____________. *The Critical Year, A Study of Andrew Johnson and Reconstruction.* New York: F. Ungar, 1958.
Focuses on the conflict between Johnson and the Congress.

Bennett, Lerone, Jr. *Black Power U. S. A.: The Human Side of Reconstruction, 1867 - 1877.* Baltimore: Penguin, 1961.
Analyzes the psychological and sociological damage upon the Negro as a result of the struggle over Reconstruction.

Bentley, George R. *A History of the Freedmen's Bureau.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1955.

Bond, Horace M. "Social and Economic Forces in Alabama Reconstruction," *Journal of Negro History,* XXIII, July 1938.
Suggests that the new history of reconstruction should dwell upon the influence exercised by powerful business interests upon the Republican party.

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A popular account of reconstruction.

Chalmers, David M. *Hooded Americanism: The First Century of the Ku Klux Klan, 1865 - 1965.* New York: Doubleday, 1965.
Describes the psychological and sociological forces which result in the birth of the Klan and examines the dogmas and personalities of the Klan.

Conway, Alan. *The Reconstruction of Georgia.* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1966.
A specialized history for those interested in a detailed account of reconstruction in one state.

Coulter, E. Merton. *The South During Reconstruction.* Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1947.
Written at a time when the revisionist school was debunking the inherent black inferiority, this southern view reaffirms the traditional white supremacy interpretation of reconstruction.

Cox, La Wanda. Politics, Principle, and Prejudice, 1865-1866. New York: Free Press of Glencoe, 1963.

Another study of the conflict between Johnson and Congress.

Donald, David. The Politics of Reconstruction. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1965.

Covers similar ground as the item mentioned above.

Du Bois, W.E.B. Black Reconstruction. New York: Russell & Russell, 1935.

A black view of reconstruction which stands in marked contrast to the pro-southern school which dominated American historiography in the first third of the 20th century.

________. "Reconstruction and Its Benefits," American Historical Review, XV, July 1910.

An earlier view which the author later amplified in his Black Reconstruction cited above.

________. "The Freedmen's Bureau," Atlantic Monthly, LXXXVII, March, 1901.

One of the first historical reviews of the successes and failures of America's first "civil rights" organization.

Drisko, Carol F. The Unfinished March: The Negro in the United States: Reconstruction to World War I. New York: Doubleday, 1967.

Discusses the black participation in reconstruction days and examines the factors leading to the withdrawal of federal support from the South.

Durham, Philip. The Negro Cowboys. New York: Dodd, 1965.

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Fast, Howard. Freedom Road. New York: Duell, Sloan, 1944.

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Offers a stimulating analysis of the forces behind the overthrow of reconstruction governments and of the way in which the Compromise of 1877 was consumated.

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De Santis, V. Republicans Face the Southern Question. Baltimore: John Hopkins Press, 1959.

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Discusses the early days of reconstruction and black participation, the forces leading to the withdrawal of federal support from the blacks and the rise of Jim Crow and institutionalized racism.

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An account of the blacks who became trailhands in the west in the last half of the 19th century. Both black heroes and villains are portrayed. This fills an historical void.

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A detailed analysis of Reconstruction politics in North Carolina which led to the disenfranchisement of the black man in the last quarter of the 19th century in that state.

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Wynes, Charles E. *Race Relations in Virginia, 1870 - 1902.* Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1961.

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An autobiography of one of America's greatest musical talents of the 20th century.

Bond, Frederick W. The Negro and the Drama. College Park, Md.: McGrath, '69.
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Waskow, Arthur I. *From Race Riot to Sit-In: 1919 and the 1960s*. New York:

Discusses several of the post-World War I riots as a background to more recent civil rights developments.

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Unit #10: The Rise of the Civil Rights Movement Since World War II

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Anderson, Margaret. The Children of the South. New York: Farrar, 1966.
The 1954 Supreme Court decision and its impact upon southern children of both races. Psychological, sociological and educational ramifications are aired.

Ashmore, Harry S. The Other Side of Jordan. New York: Norton, 1960.
The author contends that the race problem is approaching it final phase with the greatest likelihood of trouble appearing in the great cities outside the South. The author seems to accurately forecast many events and trends of the sixties.

Baldwin, James. Another Country. New York: Dell, 1948.
A novel involving race, sex and violence by one of America's best known black authors.

________. Blues for Mr. Charlie. New York: Dell, 1964.
A novel which emphasizes the constant humiliation and degradation of American blacks.

________. Nobody Knows My Name: Notes of a Native Son. New York: Bantam, 1955.
Baldwin contends that the white man's world can no longer continue as it was under the pressure of black awareness of his own power. These black-white relationships are aired in a series of essays.

________. The Fire Next Time. New York: Dial, 1963.
Baldwin has composed two essays, written in the form of letters, condemning the ghettoization of the black man in America. He bitterly compares American treatment of Negroes to Nazi handling of the Jews.

Barbour, Floyd B. The Black Power Revolt. Boston: Sargent, 1968.
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Barrett, Russell H. Integration at Ole Miss. Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1965.
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Bates, Daisy. The Long Shadow of Little Rock, A Memoir. New York: Mc Kay, 1962.
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Portrays the agony of a white confronted with demands that he change his attitudes.

Brink, William. *The Negro Revolution in America.* New York: Simon and Schuster, 1964.
Discusses the wants of blacks and white reactions. A good psychological probe of racial conflicts.

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The success of a black teacher from a different land in a classroom of hostile teenagers is told in this touching novel.

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Brontz, Howard. *The Black Jews of Harlem: Negro Nationalism and the Problems of Negro Leadership*. New York: Glencoe Free Press, 1964.

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An autobiography of a Harlem black during the 1940's and 1950's who manages to overcome his slum background to graduate from Howard University. This is a powerful book which contains much of the argot of the ghetto.

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Clayton, Edward. Martin Luther King: The Peaceful Warrior. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1964.

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A powerful account of the forces that shaped Cleaver's life that are currently molding American destinies.

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Recreates the days of the terrible Watts riot when fires of race hatred and frustration exploded. The authors explore the causes of anger and offer a profile of the black community in Watts.

Conant, James B. Slums and Suburbs. New York: McGraw-Hill Co., 1961.
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Cons, James H. Black Theology and Black Power. New York: Seabury Co., 1969.
A meaningful probe of religion and politics in a nation divided by race.

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Explores the problems of a young black in the ghetto.

Davis, Sammy Jr., and Bayar, Joe. Yes I Can: The Story of Sammy Davis, Jr. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1964.

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(A short, quick reference for the busy teacher)

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Courtesy of Dr. Prescott Nichols, San Diego State College

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		Publisher (if in paperback)
Baldwin, James.	Go Tell It on the Mountain (novel) 1953	Dell
	Giovanni's Room (novel) 1956	Dell
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	Nobody Knows My Name (essays) 1961	Dell
	Another Country (novel) 1962	Dell
	The Amen Corner (play) 1962	Dell
	The Fire Next Time (essays) 1963	Dell
	Blues for Mr. Charlie (play) 1964	Dell
	Going to Meet the Man (short stories)	Dell
	Tell Me How Long the Train's Been Gone (novel) 1969	Dell
Brooks, Guendolyn	A Street in Bronzeville (poems) 1945	
	Annie Allen (poems) 1949	
	Maud Martha (novel) 1953	Pop. Lib.
	The Bean Eaters (poems) 1960	
	Selected Poems 1963	Harper
Cleaver, Eldridge	Soul on Ice (essays) 1968	Delta
	Post Prison Writings (essays) 1969	Vintage
Ellison, Ralph	The Invisible Man (novel) 1952	Signet
	Shadow and Act (essays) 1964	Signet
Hughes, Langston	The Big Sea (autobiography) 1940	Am. Cent.
	Shakespeare in Harlem (poems) 1942	
	In Freedom's Plow (poems) 1943	
	Fields of Wonder (poems) 1943	
	One-Way Ticket (poems) 1949	
	Simple Speaks His Mind (short stories)	
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	Montage of a Dream Deferred (poems) 1951	
	Laughing to Keep from Crying (short stories) 1952	
	I Wonder as I Wander (autobiography) 1956	Am. Cent.
	The Langston Hughes Reader (col. works) 1958)	
	Selected Poems 1959	
	Ask Your Mama (poems) 1961	
	Best of Simple (short stories) 1961	Am. Cent.
	Something in Common (short stories) 1963	Am. Cent.
	Simple's Uncle Sam (short stories) 1965	Am. Cent.
	The Panther and the Lash (poems) 1967	Knopf

Jones, Le Roi	Preface to a Twenty Volume Suicide Note (poems) 1961	Corinth
	Blues People (essays) 1963	Apollo
	The Dead Lecturer (poems) 1964	Grove
	Dutchman and the Slave (plays) 1964	Apollo
	The System of Dante's Hell (novel) 1965	Grove
	Home (essays) 1966	Apollo
	Poem for Black Hearts (poems) 1967	
	Tales (short stories) 1967	Grove
	The Baptism and The Toilet (plays) 1967	Grove
	Black Music (essays) 1967	
	Four Revolutionary Plays 1969	
	Black Magic (poems) 1969	
Williams, John	The Angry Ones (novel) 1960	
	Night Song (novel) 1961	
	Sissie (novel) 1963	
	The Man Who Cried I Am (novel) 1967	Signet
	This is My Country, Too (essays) 1967	Signet
	Africa: Her History, Lands and People (essays) 1967	Cooper Square
	Sons of Darkness, Sons of Light (novel) 1969	
Wright, Richard	Uncle Tom's Children (short stories) 1938	Perennial
	Native Son (novel) 1940	Perennial
	Black Boy (autobiography) 1945	Perennial
	12 Million Black Voices (essays) 1941	
	The Outsider (novel) 1953	Perennial
	Savage Holiday (novel) 1954	Award Books
	Black Power (essays) 1954	
	The Color Curtain (essays) 1956	
	Pagan Spain (essays) 1957	
	White Man, Listen (lectures) 1957	Anchor
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	Eight Men (stories) 1961	Pyramid
	Land Today (novel) 1963 (written in 1936)	

II. AFRO-CARIBBEAN

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Damas, Léon (Guyane)	Pigments (poems) 1937	
	Black-Label (poems) 1956	
	African Songs of Love, War, Grief and Abuse, 1961	
Fanon, Frantz (Martinique)	Black Skin, White Masks (essays) (Peau Noire, Masque Blancs) 1952	Grove
	The Wretched of the Earth (essays) (Les Damnes de la Terre) 1961	Grove
	Toward the African Revolution (essays) (Pour la Revolution Africain) 1964	Grove
	Dying Colonialism (essays) 1965	Grove
Guillen, Nicolas	Songoro Cosongo y Otros Poemas (poems) 1942	
	Cubre Libre (poems) 1948	

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Abrahams, Peter	The Path of Thunder (novel) 1948	
(South Africa)	Mine Boy (novel) 1955	Humanities
	A Wreathe for Udome (novel) 1956	
	A Night of Their Own (novel) 1956	
	Wild Conquest (novel) 1966	Penguin
	Tell Freedom (autobiography) 1966	
Achebe, Chinua	Things Fall Apart (novel) 1959	Astor Honor
(Nigeria)	No Longer at Ease (novel) 1960	Astor Honor
	Arrow of God (novel) 1964	Anchor
	A Man of the People (novel) 1966	Anchor
Beti, Mongo	Mission to Kala (novel) 1958	
(Cameroun)	King Lazarus (novel) 1961	
Laye, Camara	The Dark Child (novel) 1954	Noonday
(Guinee)	The Radiance of the King (novel) 1956	
Mphahlele, Ezekiel	Down Second Avenue (novel) 1959	
(South Africa)		
Senghor, Leopold	Selected Poems 1964	
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	On African Socialism (essays) 1964	Preger
Soyinka, Wole	A Dance of the Forests (play) 1963	Three Crowns
(Nigeria)	The Lion and the Jewel	Three Crowns
	Five Plays 1964	
	The Road (play) 1965	Three Crowns
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Afro-American History $1
Black American Biography, Black American Scientists, Black Americans in Public Affairs $1
Education and the Afro-American 75¢
Black American Literature, Black American Folklore 75¢
Fine Arts and the Black American, Music and the Black American $1
Sociology of the American Negro $1
Economic Status and Conditions of the Negro 75¢
Afro-American Religion and Church and State Relations 75¢
Black Nationalism, The Negro and the Establishment: Law, Politics and the Courts 75¢
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BIBLIOGRAPHY OF RECORDS

To deny records to students of Afro-American history would be to ignore that blacks in America have "soul." Many records are available which illustrate this major feature of black culture in America. The following selection was acquired by one member of the committee this year or had been collected in previous years. Many other records exist; the following list is thus only a small fraction of what is available.

I. MUSIC OF AFRICA

African Drums	Folkway Library # FE 4502A
African Tribal Music	Esoterch # 5513-s-2461
Freedom Fighters of Algeria	Folkway Library # FD 5441
Cameroons, Music of	Folkway Library # FE 4372
Congo, Western, Folk Music of	Folkway Library # FE 4427
Egypt, Songs of	Folkway Library # FW 6925
Negro Folk Music of Africa	Ethnic Folkway Library # FE 4500
Somali Republic, Songs of	Folkway Library # FD 5443
Watutsi, Songs of	Folkway Library # FE 4428

II "SOUL" MUSIC IN AMERICA: JAZZ, BLUES, POPULAR

Armstrong, Louis.	Decca # DL 74137
Charles, Ray. The Best of"	Design Drcords, # DLP 245
Cosby, Bill. "Bill Cosby Sings"	Warner Bros.Record
Cosby, Bill. "Hooray for the Salvation Army Band"	" " # 1728
Disneyland, Dukes of. "Dixieland"	Columbia Record # CS 8766
Ellington, Duke. "The Best of"	Capital Record # DT 1602
Fitzgerald, Ella. MistyBlue"	Capital Record # ST 2888
Franklin, Aretha. "Queen of Soul"	Harmony # HS 11274
Golden Gate Quartet. "Spirituals"	Columbia Record # C 73472
Jazz Odyssey: "Sounds of New Orleans, 1917-1947"	Columbia Record # C 3L 30
Jazz Odyssey: "Sound of Harlem"	Columbia Record # C 3L 33
Jazz, History of, in 11 volumes	Folkway Records # FJ 2801 to FJ 2811
Odetta. "The Best of"	Traditional-Everest # 2052
Seeger, Pete. "Carnegie Hall Concert"	Columbia # CS 8901
Yantis, Dave. "There's a New Wind a-Blowin'"	World Library # 1930 SM

III ORAL

African History, An Overview. Records # EA 905

Baldwin, James. Black Man in America., An Interview. Credo Records

Black Pioneers in American History. Listening Library Records.
Eartha Kitt and Moses Gunn read autobiographies of black leaders who helped forge America.

Black Protest. Listening Library Records.
The protests of American Negroes against slavery, oppression and discrimination are presented in this 3 record set which includes the words of King, Malcolm X, Carmichael and others.

Brown, John. Activity Records.
A condensation of Benet's lengthy work adopted especially for high school listening.

Burrows, Vinie. The Black Scene in Prose, Poetry and Song. Listening Library Records.
A one-woman show with guitar accompaniment which includes works from Stephen Vincent Benet, Sojourner Truth, Robert Hayden, Langston Hughes and others.

Cosby, Bill. Its True, Its True. Warner Brothers Records, # 1770.

__________. 200 MPH. Warner Brothers Records # 1657.

__________. Wonderfulness. Warner Brothers Records # 1634.

Damas, Leon. Black Poetry. Folkway Records # FL 9924.
Damas reads with great emotional impact in French.

Dennis, R. Ethel. Black Pathfinders. Listening Library Records.
A black author, lecturer and educator presents a panorama of noted black personalities and leaders during ancient times who helped shape world civilization. Based on her radio program emanating from New Haven, Connecticut.

Douglass, Frederick. "Autobiography" Folkway Record # FH 5522.
Contains excerpts from the autobiography of the great abolitionist read with great feeling by a black actor.

Gregory, Dick. Poppy Records (no number)
The black comic speaks with great sarcasm on such subjects as Spiro Agnew, Nixon's "southern strategy," the Pueblo incident, patriotism, moon landings, etc.

Gregory, Dick. "The Light Side, The Dark Side." Poppy Records, (no number).
This is a transcription of Gregory's speech to an integrated student audience at the University of Alabama in 1969. The speech is largely political and reflects the comic's despair for the future well-being of the nation.

"Hand Is On the Gate, A" Verve Folkways Record # FV 9040 OC.
A recording of a broadway production which uses both music and poetry to illustrate various phases of black history and problems.

Hughes, Lanston. "Short Stories by **Black Authors.**" Caedmon Record # TG 1222.

King, Dr. Martin L. Jr. # 929.
Includes such famous speeches as the "Drum Major" and his funeral eulogy.

________. "Freedom at Last." Look Up Records No Number.
The complete recording of Dr. King's August 23, 1963 speech at Washington, D.C.

Kennedy, John F. "Kennedy and the Negro." Ebony Record (no number).
Utilizes excerpts from several Kennedy speeches to highlight his commitment to civil rights.

Lincoln, Abraham. Lonesome Train: A Lincoln Treasury. Decca Record # DL 9065.
Uses prose, poetry and song to praise the martyred president.

Malcolm X. Message to the Grass Roots. Grass Roots Record, no number.

Negro History. Adventures in Negro History. Highlight Radio Productions Record # 101.
Offers vignettes of such black greats as Nino, Estevancio, Attucks, Salem, Douglass, Pinchback and Du Bois.

Negro History. Adventures in Negro History. Vol. II. The Frederick Douglass Years, 1817-1895. Highlight Radio Productions Record #102.
Surveys the highlights of American history from the perspective of one of the giants of the 19th century.

Negro History. Adventures in Negro History. Vol. III The Afro-American's Quest for Education, A Black Odyssey. Highlight Radio Productions Record # 103.
Surveys the problems of education for blacks in America from colonial times to the historic 1954 Supreme Court decision.

Negro History, Glory of. Folkway Record # FC 7752.
A series of vignettes.

Sit In Story. Folkway Record # FH 5502.
Includes comments by Dr. Martin Luther King and Rev. Ralph Abernathe.

We Shall Overcome. Roadside Records # BR 592.
A documentary account of the "march on Washington," August 23, 1963 with excerpts of such personalities as Pres. Kennedy, Joan Baez, Dr. King, Marian Anderson, Oddetta, Rabbi J. Prinz, Bob Dylan, Whitney Young, John Lewis, Roy Wilkins, Walter Reuther, Peter, Paul and Mary, Bayard Rustin and A. Philip Randolph.

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF FILM STRIPS

DEALING WITH AFRO - AMERICAN HISTORY

1.. Africa: A Continent in Ferment, produced by Life

Offers a brief survey of elementary geography and history of the continent as it appeared about 1960.

2. African Art and Culture, produced by Warren Schloat Production Inc., Pleasantville, New York, 10570.
   (1) I: The Early Art of Africa.
   (2) II: African Sculpture
   (3) III: African Masks

This series offers the student a detailed insight into the cultural aspects of ancient Africa and delves into other cultural concepts as well.

3. South Africa, Dynamic Progress, Produced by the Ministry of Information and available at 805 South Street, Baldwin, New York, 11510.

This filmstrip offers an idyllic view of the Republic. It is more valuable as an example of propaganda than as fact.

4. Chains of Slavery, 1800-1865, produced by Encyclopedia Britannica
Education Corp.
525 No. Michigan Ave.,
Chicago, Illinois

A six volume set which offers close up views of specific areas of history during the slave era of the 19th century.

   (1) Harriet Tubman
   (2) Frederick Douglass
   (3) Black People in the Free North, 1860.
   (4) Black People in the Slave South, 1850.
   (5) Nat Turner's Rebellion
   (6) Black People in the Civil War.

5. Separate and Unequal, 1865-1910. Produced by Encyclopedia Britannica (see address above).

Another six volume set following the same format as in Chains of Slavery cited above.

   (1) Booker T. Washington
   (2) Bishop Turner, Black Nationalist
   (3) Black People in the North, 1900
   (4) Black People in the South, 1877-1900
   (5) The Black Codes
   (6) Separate but Unequal

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF FILM STRIPS, (Con.)

6. Black Odyssey: History of the American Negro, produced by Educational Audio Visual, Pleasantville, New York, 10570.

Offers a general survey of some of the highlights of black history in America.

(1) Vol. I: 1619-1865
(2) Vol. II: 1865-1961.

7. John Brown's Body, produced by Educational Audio Visual (see address above).

This film strip is correlated with a record which presents interesting insights in the biography of one of America's most controversial abolitionists.

8. Jazz, produced by Educational Audio Visual.

This four volume set offers an interesting overview of the evolution of American jazz from its earliest beginnings to recent times. It is correlated with records. The major fault with the set is that the musical excerpts tend to be all too brief.

(1) Vol. I: New Orleans, the Birth of Jazz
(2) Vol.II: Chicago: The Golden Age of Jazz
(3) Vol.III :The Years When Swing Was King
(4) Vol. IV:From Bebop till Today

9. Minorities Have Made America Great, produced by Warren Schloat Productions. Inc. Pleasantville, New York, 10570.

Stresses contributions of minorities. Parts 1 and 2 are devoted to Afro-American accomplishes. Others in the series deal with the Irish, the Jews, the Italians, the Germans.

10. They Have Overcome, produced by Warren Schloat Production, Inc.

Correlated with records, this series presents the views of specific contemporary blacks who endeavor to portray the obstacles to success for blacks living in a white world.

(1) Gordon Parks
(2) Claude Brown
(3) Dr. J. Comer
(4) Dr. Dorothy Brown
(5) Charles Lloyd

11. Growing Up Black, produced by Warren Schloat Production, Inc.

Correlated with records, this set uses the same format as mentioned in # 11.

(1) The story of Cleve McDowell
(2) The story of Carolyn Guilloin
(3) and (4) The story of Jenny Peace

12. The History of the American Negro, Available through Listening Library
1 Park Avenue
Old Greenwich, Conn.
06870

Offers a survey of many of the important highlights of Afro-Americans from earliest times to the 1960s.

(1) From Africa to America
(2) Slavery in the Young American Republic
(3) Slavery in a House Divided
(4) The Negro in the Civil War and Reconstruction
(5) The Negro in the Gilded Age
(6) The Negro in the 20th Century
(7) The Negro Fights for the Four Freedoms
(8) The Threshold of Equality

13. American Negroes, available through Listening Library (see address above).

Offers an elementary view of eight outstanding blacks who contributed much to American history.

(1) Harriet Tubman
(2) Frederick Douglass
(3) Booker T. Washington
(4) Jackie Robinson
(5) Sojourner Truth
(6) Martin Luther King
(7) George Washington Carver
(8) Mary McLeod Bethune

14. Negroes in America, available through Listening Library.

From slavery to freedom in civil rights. Black Americans and their goals. Splits in the civil rights movement, Progress in jobs and education. White backlash. The New Negro militancy. Produced in June, 1969.